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ABSTRACT

The history of the California Federation of Teachers, spanning 70 years, is documented in this book that contains two parts. The first part of the book discusses the teachers' union in the context of each of the seven decades of its existence: "1920s: The Conditions of Teachers"; "1930s: A Debating Society Struggles to Survive"; "1940s: The War and Its Aftermath"; "1950s: The Teachers Union That Came in from the Cold War"; "1960s: 'Teacher Power'"; "1970s: The Politics of Diversity"; and "1980s: Teacher Unions Come of Age." The second part of the book features brief histories of the various California local branches of the American Federation of Teachers. (DB)

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A HISTORY OF THE

# CFT

## CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

1919 - 1989

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# A History
## of the
# California Federation of Teachers
# 1919-1989

Edited and Designed by

**Fred Glass**

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is the result of contributions from generous people too numerous to mention here. Special attention must be drawn, however, to the work of the CFT History Advisory Committee, which included Maurice Englander, Wanda Faust, Bob Gabriner, Jim Herndon, Eddie Irwin, Ken Lane, Gerry Meister, Miles Myers, Marjorie Murphy, Raoul Teilhet, and Hy Weintraub. I would also like to thank others who read the manuscript and provided me with helpful suggestions: Mary Bergan, Joe Berry, Norm Diamond, and Maureen Katz. Deborah Samarin and Harriet Talan gave me a valuable push in the direction of sources at the outset. The prime keeper of these was Robert Marshall, the CFT's archivist at the California State University, Northridge Urban Archives, who knew where things were and led me to them. Donna Siu regularly performed extraordinary feats of wordprocessing at a moment's notice. Gretchen Treuting consulted on design unstintingly. Craig Lieberman, student intern, catalogued files in the dust of ages. Julie Minard inspired me to work for the CFT in the first place, and told me some of the best stories, a few of which *were* suitable to retell in the essay. Despite the best efforts of all these people, I alone bear final responsibility for whatever flaws are to be found herein.

—Fred Glass

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# Table of Contents

**Preface**
4

**A History of the California Federation of Teachers**
*1920s: The Condition of Teachers*
5

*1930s: A "Debating Society" Struggles to Survive*
12

*1940s: The War and Its Aftermath*
16

*1950s: The Teachers Union That Came In From the Cold War*
20

*1960s: "Teacher Power"*
24

*1970s: The Politics of Diversity*
30

*1980s: Teacher Unionism Comes of Age*
37

*Sources*
43

**Histories of California AFT Locals**
44

**Solidarity Greetings**
116

# Preface

The California Federation of Teachers, representing almost 60,000 educational employees served by CFT contracts throughout the state, is affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers (almost 800,000 members nationwide), the California Federation of Labor (1.4 million Californians), and the AFL-CIO (14.6 million members nationwide). We have 24 service centers in California, a lobbying office in Sacramento, and a range of special services, from insurance and travel programs to sabbatical boards.

Why did the CFT also think it needed ***A History of the California Federation of Teachers***? Many of the new teachers who have joined the ranks of the CFT in recent years have no knowledge about what the CFT has done to change schools over the last half century. Imagine, for example, that you were being fired because you were over 40 and a woman (Elizabeth Baldwin) or because you wore a beard (Paul Finot), or because you participated in a peaceful political demonstration as a student teacher (Richard Broadhead) or because you wrote a letter-to-the-editor criticizing the administration of the schools (Jack Owens). These events were not uncommon in pre-collective bargaining schools.

The California Federation of Teachers has created school systems in which teachers can participate in community politics, can live alternate life styles in their private lives, and can criticize the administration of their schools. This achievement was possible only because teachers formed unions, and these changes survive only because teachers continue to have unions. In the history book that you hold in your hands, you will discover your roots as an educator and unionist in California. It is my hope that our story—the story of the CFT—will inspire you to join with us in the work that still lies ahead.

***A History of the California Federation of Teachers*** should also help us understand the new directions that our union is now exploring. Our history shows us that legal defense, collective bargaining, and political involvement have brought essential changes to our educational systems, but these instruments have not enabled us to restructure teaching and learning to the extent needed by our changing society. To accomplish that goal, we need to work toward the full professionalization of our membership. This means we must establish high standards for both students and colleagues, develop our knowledge base about teaching and learning, expand the ways of knowing available to students in our classrooms, and assume a major share of the responsibility for the quality of education in our communities.

Today we stand on the verge of bringing this program of professionalization into being. That story remains for the next CFT history book.

**Miles Myers, President**
**California Federation of Teachers**
**Fall, 1989**

# A History
## of the
# California Federation of Teachers
# 1919-1989

*Signs of the times at the March for Education, Sacramento, 1967*
(Susan Mullally photo)



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# A History of the California Federation of Teachers

## 1920s

### The Condition of Teachers

Teachers suffered much more in the 1920s than they do today from the low social status accorded their work. Prompted by abysmal pay, the young American Federation of Teachers demanded a $2,000 minimum annual salary at the end of the decade, and a maximum "...which would provide a cultural real wage enabling the teachers to live according to the requirements of their position."

But low pay was just the beginning of the story leading to teacher unionism. Working conditions and civil liberties in the United States were under widespread attack by ultra-conservative forces; the condition of teachers mirrored these broader social problems. Most teachers resented but felt helpless before the serious limitations placed on their academic freedom and job security by autocratic school boards and school administrations. A few brave teachers found ways to challenge these oppressive circumstances.

In 1919 several small teacher union locals founded the California State Federation of Teachers. It was an inauspicious year in which to launch a statewide teachers' union. Following the end of hostilities in Europe, U.S. Attorney General Mitchell Palmer led government and business leaders in a xenophobic, super-patriotic campaign for "American values." Law enforcement officials and vigilante groups were encouraged to carry out "Palmer Raids", mass arrests and deportations which created an atmosphere of terror for immigrant workers and union activists. Conservative newspaper columnists and businessmen utilized propaganda techniques pioneered during the War to decry gains won by organized labor for workers, labelling anything connected with unions "Bolshevik." As a result, public opinion in the United States turned against unions, threatening the precarious hold they had achieved in American social life.

Palmer and his associates singled out the radical Industrial Workers of the World (also called the IWW or the Wobblies), which proclaimed its dedication to the principle of "one big union" for all workers, for especially harsh treatment. Numbering less than a hundred thousand, the IWW nonetheless exerted a militant influence on many more industrial workers in significant areas of the country. Wartime patriotic fervor and its aftereffects helped make the Wobblies' anti-militarist stand on the United States' entry into the European conflict in 1917 an easy target for their anti-union opponents. By the mid-20s the IWW's leaders were in prison or deported, its membership decimated.

In such a political climate, powerful employer groups easily destroyed the steelworkers union, some quarter of a million workers, after a disastrous strike in 1919. A creative variety of intimidation, company unions and paternalistic corporate welfare plans discouraged further organization. Even moderate craft unions of the American Federation of Labor — to which the young teachers' union belonged — could not escape the anti-union backlash. Hundreds of foreign-born workers were deported, thousands of activists jailed, and some even lynched during the Palmer era, an historical forerunner of the McCarthy-era "red scare." For the next decade and

*by Fred Glass*

a half a smaller, embattled union movement struggled to survive, barely able to provide minimal protections to workers.

The "Jazz Age" decade did provide some working Americans, including teachers, with a glimpse of the consumer society to come, before it was buried for a while beneath the Great Depression. Mass production industries began to produce vast quantities of household items. Advertising for the good life of consumables soon filled the gaps between programs on the new entertainment medium, radio. For those with more limited visual imagination, movies portrayed the lavish lifestyle possible, if only one possessed enough money to attain it. But for most workers and their families, consuming these images was as close as they could get to living such a life; the weak state of the unions ensured that middle class lifestyles remained out of reach. The 'Jazz Age' wasn't so jazzy for working people in the 'Roaring Twenties'.

*One misconception of the IWW (from the* ***One Big Union Monthly****, 1920)*

It is difficult to imagine today the level of intimidation experienced daily by classroom teachers of the early decades of this century. Teachers were often fired merely for offering criticism to a principal or administrator. For instance, Dr. Henry Linville, later to become the first president of the New York City Teachers' Union, asked the New York City Superintendent of Schools, William Maxwell, in 1905, "Do you think that there are no conditions which might justify a teacher in complaining of his superior?" Responded Dr. Maxwell, "Absolutely none."

Arbitrary administrator decisions affecting teachers were rampant. There were virtually no uniform salary schedules. Teachers at schools within the same district, or even teachers within the same schools, received wildly divergent pay despite similar or identical qualifications; the criteria were solely those of the principal's whim. Older teachers were often released, and younger teachers, presumably willing to accept less pay, were hired to replace them. Friends and relatives of school board members and administrators commonly gained teaching jobs ahead of more qualified applicants.

Once hired, teachers discovered no sanctuary in their classroom; and the source of disruptions to teaching was not limited to the immediate school environment. The 1925 Scopes Trial in Tennessee, deciding whether teachers might instruct their students about Darwin's generally accepted theory of evolution, represented merely the tip of a large and dangerous iceberg threatening the ability of teachers to carry out their work without interference.

Centralized textbook selection, institutionalized in the years after the World War, took decisionmaking out of the hands of teachers to ensure that the proper "patriotic attitudes" would be instilled in the children of immigrants. Emboldened by the generally anti-civil liberties atmosphere of the era, many states passed laws hindering the exercise of teachers' constitutional rights. The "Lusk Laws" in New York, for example, declared in 1921 that

> In entering the public school system the teacher assumes certain obligations and must of necessity surrender some of his [sic] intellectual freedom. If he does not approve of the present social system or the structure of our government he is at liberty to entertain these ideas, but must surrender this public office.

Local school boards presented teachers with a creative variety of restrictions on their teaching methods, content and political expression. At the same time, school boards often gave carte blanche to corporations to make presentations to classrooms on matters affecting their products, while denying access to opposing points of view. Responding to questionable school board practices, Professor Paul Douglas (later Senator from Illinois) asked a fundamental question at the 1929 AFT national convention: why was educational policy "...allowed to be determined by vaudeville promoters, and real estate agents, and lawyers, and bankers, every interest in the community sitting on school boards, except teachers?"

Control over teachers inside the classroom apparently didn't satisfy autocratic administrators' urges. School boards sought to expand their dictatorial powers to their employees' private lives, and fired teachers for infrequency of church attendance, failing to vote, or not turning out at the local Liberty Bond parade. Many school districts dismissed women instructors for such serious infractions as wearing the "wrong" clothing and hair styles, being over forty, and the ultimate sin — getting married.



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Individual contracts, in those days before collective bargaining, often specified that marriage constituted grounds for immediate termination. If teachers managed to make it through a career, retirement benefits were paltry.

Given these problems, it seems remarkable that anyone went into the "profession" at all. Those who did choose teaching for their occupation quickly ran up against the contradiction between the label "professional" and the rather more sordid reality. It should not be surprising, at least in retrospect, that at some point something had to break. The final straw that pushed many teachers beyond previous limits on their thinking and actions was a wave of attacks by school boards, inspired by the Palmer mentality, on individuals and groups of "unpatriotic" teachers.

The situation clearly was intolerable, and some teachers realized it was not about to get any better without a union.

**The National AFT**

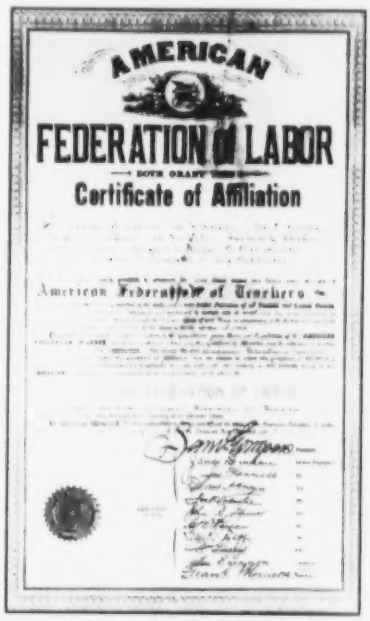
Founded in 1916, the American Federation of Teachers rose upon the foundation of earlier teachers' struggles for control over their lives and work. In particular the Chicago Federation of Teachers, led by firebrand organizer Margaret Haley, set an impressive example for teachers across the nation in the early years of the century. In both Chicago and New York the founders of the union organized on a platform calling for corporations to pay their fair share of taxes to support education, along with direct advocacy for teachers. The leaders of the fledgling AFT decided to affiliate with the craft union-oriented American Federation of Labor (AFL) to utilize organized labor's greater numbers (at that time, around 5 million members) and financial resources in the struggle for improved conditions for teachers and schools.

The AFL practiced a type of unionism that emphasized pride in craft and valorized skilled labor over unskilled work. Its appeal to the largely middle class women teachers hung on a thread of common interest. Members of the AFT, conscious that they worked among the children of the working population, recognized the potential power in an alliance with the parents of their students, both for themselves (economically) and for their charges (politically).

Labor, for its part, felt teachers to be a natural ally, at least in one respect. The longtime president of the AFL, Sam Gompers, undoubtedly articulated the feelings of his rank and file when he made his famous statement regarding labor's program:

> We want more schoolhouses and less jails; more books and less arsenals; more learning and less vice; more constant work and less greed; more justice and less revenge.

The first unions recognized early in the 19th century that workers' children needed to learn to read and write in order to participate politically in the new republican society. By the latter part of the century, labor saw that its young people could gain greater social and economic opportunities only through a strong system of mandatory public education. Schools served the additional practical purpose of getting children out of the factories, where their presence drove down the wages of adults. Once the unions succeeded in getting child labor laws passed, living wages would become more attainable. But most significantly, children would come off the streets and out of the factories to acquire the basic tools for participation in a democracy.


AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR
Certificate of Affiliation
American Federation of Teachers

*AFL Charter to the American Federation of Teachers, 1916*

Not all AFL leaders were supremely happy at the prospect of teachers in their ranks. Some of the more conservative among them, especially in the building trades unions, were quite willing to support public education, but drew the line at calling teachers "brothers", or — even worse — "sisters". The somewhat tenuous early connection between teachers and organized labor, varying by geographic circumstance and local cultural traditions, gradually grew more solid over the years.

After several resounding defeats in post-World War I strikes, the AFL urged public employee unions to renounce strikes. This was essentially a strategy for survival. AFT leaders accepted Gompers' cautious approach, and maintained, mostly for the sake of public acceptance, that its locals would never be drawn into a strike. The union's positions probably represented the limits of teacher action in the constraining conditions of the post-war decade. Indeed, even with the polite methods espoused by the AFT in the 20s, barely one fifth of the locals chartered since 1916 were still around by 1927.

If relatively conservative by pre-World War I union standards, the AFT's positions in the 20s were positively radical in comparison with many of those taken by the National Education Association. By far the larger organization, the NEA had existed for nearly sixty years when the AFT received its AFL charter. Contrary to its claims to represent teachers, however,



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the Association was dominated by school administrators, who consistently refused at the school site and in legislative efforts to support teachers where it would count: by sharing in decision-making, granting larger salaries, and throwing their weight behind pro-teacher legislation. The first president of the AFT, Charles Stillman, argued, "Experience has shown during the last half century that any organization admitting school officials has rapidly become an organization primarily of, by, and for such officials." The early development of the AFT in certain crucial respects was defined by its differences with the NEA, and it was on the basis of those differences that the union recruited its membership.

Adminstrators and boards of education were fond of reminding underpaid teachers that theirs was a vocation of self-sacrifice for the greater good of the public. This appeal was made especially to women — the overwhelming majority of teachers — who were admonished that it was unfeminine to make trade union-like demands for higher wages. Undaunted, AFT teachers pioneered in the movement to convince the public that well-paid teachers were more likely to devote themselves to their calling. The logic of this position brought the AFT to the principle of "equal pay for equal work" long before it became a popular slogan, a crucial proposal for an organization and occupation with a majority of women.

After World War I the union defended three socialist anti-war teachers from New York City despite tremendous pressure to conform to the wave of patriotic fervour in the war's wake. By way of intimidation the New York legislature formed a committee to investigate "subversion" and included the AFT as one of its targets. The legislature, over the opposition of the AFT, passed what were known as the Lusk laws, which demanded loyalty oaths and provided for the easy dismissal of teachers. Fortunately, the popular Governor of New York, Al Smith, rode into office in 1923 on a platform that included repeal of the restrictive laws.

Two years later the young union turned its attention to another academic freedom case in Dayton Tennessee, where a high school science teacher, John Scopes, was tried and convicted of teaching Darwin's theory of evolution. The Scopes trial helped the union to sharpen its thinking about academic freedom; it worked together with the ACLU to defend Scopes. The 1925 AFT convention resolved that "It is our belief that the Tennessee anti-evolution law is a menace not only to educational and religious liberty, but to political liberty as well." Unflinching defense of academic freedom, whether the threat came from courts, administrators, clergy or corporations, remained a hallmark of the AFT; it consistently fought for freedom of expression against what it termed "the invisible government."

*Rural segregated classroom*

The fight for tenure laws preoccupied the AFT throughout the 20s. Few states had passed tenure bills at that time. One exception was Illinois, where Margaret Haley had lobbied a law in 1917 that contained the first teacher tenure provisions in the country. AFT literature on the issue closely prefigured the laws that were eventually passed elsewhere. The union's conventions were filled with discussions about how to achieve tenure, the efficiency of a two-year probationary period, dismissal procedures, representation and the like. By developing this expertise and creating statewide legislative committees supported by organized labor, the AFT exercised an immense impact on subsequent efforts to achieve tenure laws.

John Dewey's AFT membership supported the notion that the union represented the farthest frontiers in thinking on education. Issued AFT membership card #1, the progressive philosopher and Columbia professor lent his prestige to AFT organizing efforts, spoke out on the importance of teacher unionism and participated actively in union affairs. His article "Why I am a Member of the Teachers' Union" was reprinted and widely distributed.

Equally far-sighted was the AFT's demand for teacher participation in educational policymaking. Dewey had stated in 1928 that teachers were public servants, and therefore beholden more to their mission to educate than to local school boards. Earlier, at the 1925 convention, the union had proposed "the establishment of Teacher Councils controlled by the teachers and participating in the determination of educational policy." A few years later the AFT reached a more directly political decision to attempt where feasible to exercise democratic influence over school boards through the ballot box. Dewey coined the slogan, "Education for Democracy", to illustrate the union's belief that teachers needed to be politically active themselves if they were to effectively teach children the essence of democracy.

Although the AFT was not yet in a



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position to bring many of these ideas to fruition, their presentation and propagation represented an enormous step forward for classroom teachers. Where there are ideas there is hope; and the AFT was preparing itself to transform the ideas into reality.

### California State Federation of Teachers

Olive Wilson, later the third president of the California State Federation of Teachers, began teaching in 1880, and taught elementary school in Vallejo starting in 1900. In 1918 she helped found the first local of the American Federation of Teachers in California, Local 26.

A few months after its formation in early 1919, the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 61, hosted seven other newly chartered AFT locals, including Vallejo, from around northern California in a meeting to discuss the creation of a state federation of teachers' unions. (It is possible that a representative of the then-secret Los Angeles Local 77 attended the event. Anti-union feelings ran so strongly on the school board that open union membership was equivalent to a dismissal notice.) At that meeting on May 31, the representatives of these eight small but determined organizations decided to found a state federation for two stated purposes: as an information clearing-house for locals, and to give teachers a means to express their opinion on statewide educational matters.

An unstated reason for the emergence of a state teachers' federation was the need for mutual support among locals in sometimes dire circumstances. California was especially hard-hit by Attorney General Palmer's hunt for "subversives." Teachers were taunted, publicly humiliated and fired for expressing mildly dissenting views from those of ultra-patriotic groups. Paul Mohr, longtime SFFT president and a statewide president in the late 20s, looked back to the founding of his organization in the June 1927 *American Teacher*, and recalled that its objectives, left out of public statements at the time, also included "to bind the young locals firmly together against attacks from enemies of the teacher-union movement" and "to build up a central fund for the defense of any teacher suffering unjust treatment at the hands of local school officials." An important factor making the new organization possible was the infusion of veterans back from World War I willing to stand up for themselves and exercise some leadership against intimidation.

> I promise to take a vital interest in all phases of Sunday-school work, donating of my time, service, and money without stint for the uplift of the community. I promise to abstain from all dancing, immodest dressing, and other conduct unbecoming a teacher and a lady. I promise not to go out with any young men except insofar as it may be necessary to stimulate Sunday-school work. I promise not to fall in love, to become engaged or secretly married. I promise not to encourage or tolerate the least familiarity on the part of my boy pupils. I promise to sleep at least eight hours a night, to eat carefully, and to take every precaution to keep in the best of health and spirits in order that I may better be able to render efficient service to my pupils. I promise to remember that I owe a duty to the townspeople who are paying my wages, that I owe respect to the school board and the superintendent that hired me, and that I shall consider myself at all times the willing servant to the school board and the townspeople and that I shall cooperate with them to the limit of my ability in any movement aimed at the betterment of the town, the pupils, or the schools.

*Contract from a North Carolina town in 1930s*

In October 1919 the locals met once more in San Francisco and the California State Federation of Teachers (CSFT) was born, with Samuel G. McLean, a Sacramento High School teacher, elected its first president. Olive Wilson was elected vice president.

The new organization boasted just under 800 members at its birth. Recruitment exceeded everyone's expectations at first, and hopes were high for rapid expansion. No one could have foreseen that despite principled and often heroic battles fought by the CSFT on behalf of its colleagues, little headway would be made in expansion of the statewide organization's numerical strength for more than two decades.

From the outset the center of the union was northern California. Except for the chartering of Local 77 in Los Angeles, which in any case was driven out of existence by the late 20s, no southern locals appeared until the mid-30s. Membership numbers fluctuated wildly in some locals from year to year due to recurring bouts of administration and civic pressure, and inconsistent resolve on the part of the teachers. A worse problem confronting teachers willing to organize was the common disappearance of entire locals shortly after chartering. Of the ten California locals that appeared in 1918-19, only Sacramento and San Francisco still thrived by 1930. Several more had arrived on the scene in the meantime, but their hold on life remained tenuous.

Locals sometimes went under for reasons other than intimidation. On occasion the mere threat of a union caused school boards to come up with various improvements, just to keep the union out. One member of the secret Los Angeles local in the mid-20s reported that upon hearing of a meeting called by a national AFT organizer, the school board met immediately and voted a raise for all teachers. Victims of their slight success, a few locals secured immediate demands and promptly folded.

Despite all these problems the CSFT and its members persevered. Beyond

sheer survival in a hostile environment, the organization could point to credible accomplishments. One important activity, absolutely crucial to its viability, was building links with the rest of organized labor. In fact, the San Francisco and Sacramento locals succeeded where many of their colleagues failed in large part because of their fortunate births within cities sporting solid labor movements, which protected and nourished the AFT locals.

Of course, in 1919 teacher affiliation with labor itself was seen as a threat by conservative school administrators, government officials, newspaper publishers, and captains of industry. The *San Francisco Chronicle* in December 1919 complained that "outsiders" were agitating among the teachers, and the S.F. school board passed a resolution in April 1920 forbidding teachers to join any organization "having the power to call a strike or a walkout" — despite the express disavowal of the strike weapon by Local 61's constitution. If it knew about this disclaimer, the Board ignored it in favor of the higher calling of union-bashing. Teachers fearing for their jobs dropped their membership. The Labor Council attempted to pressure the Superintendent, a member of the musician's union, to get the Board to rescind its proclamation, but to no avail. The Board did, however, back down from its threat to fire any union teacher.

More promising displays of the merits of affiliation occurred at about the same time. CSFT President McLean reported in the February, 1920 *American Teacher* that two teachers suspended by the San Francisco School Board were reinstated thanks to the Labor Council, which, at the request of the SFFT, sent representatives to reason with the Board. Labor support was also instrumental in passage of the 1921 state tenure law. One of the most progressive in the country at the time, it provided for a public hearing and representation by counsel at dismissal after two years probationary teaching. McLean and the SFFT's Mohr worked closely with California Labor Federation president Paul Scharrenberg to ensure passage. Unfortunately, the law was amended in 1927 to exclude teachers in smaller districts, and hostile forces continued to chip away at it throughout the next decade.

With the labor federation's assistance the CSFT pushed a bill to triple teacher retirement pay — stuck since 1913 at $500/year — past both houses of the state legislature, only to be vetoed on the governor's desk. Despite this setback, McLean said that "An important thing from the union standpoint, however, has been the recognition of the State Federation as a definite factor in the educational work of the state."

In San Francisco and Sacramento the teachers unions pulled together committees to survey salaries across their cities. In San Francisco particularly the local received favorable publicity for its efforts at a "scientific" survey, funded by an assessment of its members.

The CSFT helped a number of teachers in legal suits, mostly for wrongful dismissal. In Santa Cruz, Albany, Fresno and other places the state union did what it could to assist teachers to win through the courts what it could not achieve through local strength. The most successful legal effort seems to have been in Fresno, where, following several teachers' dismissal for "incompetence" a libel action against the Superintendent was undertaken and won.

In at least one city where the Federation was strong, Sacramento, teachers achieved, albeit briefly, a measure of shared governance. Boasting a high membership in the early years of the decade, the president of Local 31 was invited by the Superintendent to consult with him on forming teacher-management councils for important decisionmaking matters. The council was formed; unfortunately, available records do not reveal for how long it existed.

Writing in 1927, Paul Mohr believed that "perhaps the greatest service that the State Federation has rendered the teachers of California and of the United States has been to force some democratization at least of the old-line orthodox teachers' associations". As a result of the arrival of the AFT in the educational picture, "The class-room teacher has been given some recognition in the deliberations of general teachers' associations; he has even been allowed to have a separate class-room organization as superintendents have had all along and here and there he has been given the privilege of sitting in on Councils of Administration." Mohr lamented that new teachers didn't know this history; they thought, rather, that the small measure of input allowed them in the National Education Association and its councils had always been there, instead of pressured into being by the AFT.

The first decade of the California State Federation of Teachers ended with considerably less to cheer about than its beginning. Membership had fallen off to a few hundred hardy souls, and of nearly twenty locals chartered before 1929, only seven remained; several of these existed mostly on paper. Worse, no new locals had been chartered at all between 1921 and 1928. The political atmosphere had taken its toll, and deep-seated prejudices against women, unions and teacher organization combined to sap the energies of all but the most devoted CSFT adherents. Yet all was not gloom. The new organization had established itself as a voice for teachers; it had forged its bonds with labor, the bedrock of its social support; and it had survived. In the following decade it was hard-pressed to maintain even these modest achievements.

# 1930s

## A "Debating Society" Struggles to Survive

If the previous ten years had been traumatic for teachers and their union, the early 30s proved nearly unbearable. Added to all their other problems was the minor difficulty of national economic collapse. More than a quarter of the nation's population became unemployed in the years following the stock market crash of 1929. After Franklin D. Roosevelt's election in 1932, on a Democratic Party platform lifted plank by plank from the Socialist Party's (social security, unemployment insurance, labor law and banking reform, minimum wage, etc.) working people began to feel some hope for their future. But before the New Deal programs started to make a difference, prospects remained bleak for teachers. Speaking of the effects of the Depression in his 1935 article in *American Teacher*, "The Teacher and the Public", John Dewey explained,

> Salary or wage cuts are almost universal. Multitudes of schools have been closed. Classes have been enlarged, reducing the capacity of teachers to do their work. Kindergartens and classes for the handicapped have been lopped off. Studies that are indispensable for the production of the skill and intelligence that society needs have been eliminated. The number of the unemployed has been increased in consequence, and the mass consuming power necessary for recovery has been contracted.

The lot of the teacher was worse than it had been when the AFT was formed twenty years before. But teachers were not alone. The AFL's strategy of cooperation with the employers reaped bitter fruit; its membership plunged to less than 10% of the workforce. Observers wondered whether it might not disappear altogether. The craft union orientation of the AFL was not well-suited to organizing the new mass production industries; some of its leaders' elitist attitude toward unskilled workers ensured that these mostly immigrant and second-generation workers wouldn't become union members. AFL leaders also refused the entreaties of the more progressive unions within its ranks to try to ameliorate the lot of the unemployed.

Dissatisfaction with the lack of militancy of the AFL leadership and disagreement with its strategies led several unions, pushed by John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers, to break away from craft unionism in 1935 and found the Committee for Industrial Organization, later Congress of Industrial Organizations — the CIO. Committed to organizing the unorganized, the unskilled alongside the skilled, the unemployed as well as working people, and to a model of militant, bottom-up action, the CIO unions helped support a wave of militancy that created the modern American labor movement. The passage of the National Labor Relations Act, or Wagner Act (1935), giving workers the legal right to organize and form unions, opened the floodgates, pushing the AFL into organizing, too.

The AFT debated leaving the relatively conservative AFL for the militant CIO, with some locals — such as New York's Local 5 and Los Angeles' new Local 430 — establishing independent contacts and joint activities with local CIO unions. The national AFT, however, after protracted debates in conventions and in the pages of *American Teacher*, decided that its best course of action was to work for unity of the two labor federations from within the AFL.

The discussions within the AFT must be understood in context. The Depression led many Americans to conclude that the capitalist system had failed. Before revelations had reached these shores about life under Stalin, the Soviet Union seemed to offer a rational alternative. The Communist Party attracted intellectuals and workers by the thousands, and like the IWW before it, influenced the thinking and actions of

many more. From the mid 30s to the late 40s ardent defenders of civil liberties, militant unionists and other activists in progressive movements joined or worked with the Communists (and Socialists and Trotskyists) because they spoke out and acted against injustice and in favor of a better world for all.

In the AFT political divisions between liberal, bread-and-butter unionists in Chicago and the Midwest and their more leftwing, ideologically-inclined counterparts in New York and Philadephia nearly tore apart the union. The battle over CIO affiliation was but one consequence of this political split within the AFT.

Despite its internal conflicts the national teachers' union made slow but steady progress throughout the 30s. Tenure, salary and the fight against cutbacks were again leading issues for the AFT, and its stands on these matters helped raise its membership from 7,000 to 32,000 (mostly in New York and Chicago). The AFT, in fact, despite its modest size, found itself at the center of the struggle over education in many localities, since boards of education, with the hand of chambers of commerce behind them, sought to cut programs, and labor councils were needed to counterbalance the struggle. The small teachers' unions were well-placed to bring the rest of labor into the ballgame.

As for tenure, an editorial in the November/December 1936 *American Teacher* declared it to be "the chief problem before us at the present time", stating that "It precedes even salaries and academic freedom since tenure is a prerequisite for both." At the end of 1936, 27 states, accounting for over 50% of all teachers nationally, still had yearly individual contracts for teachers or *no contracts at all*. The AFT passed resolutions at its conventions, got labor to do the same, built educational coalitions and pressured local and state legislatures to pass tenure laws. It also drafted model tenure language and offered its assistance to locals and state groups of teachers.

As in the 20s, another central concern was the defense of academic freedom. The legal defense case of Morris U. Schappes in New York helped spark membership growth in Local 5 among college professors, even while that local was in turmoil over internal politics. The president of the national AFT during the mid to late 30s, Jerome Davis, was fired from his professor's post at Yale University after teaching there for 12 years for his union activities and left-wing political sympathies. His defense campaign brought protests from the NEA, AAUP, and Progressive Education Association against Yale, which finally responded by paying him an extra year's salary. (It didn't rehire him, however.) The 1936 AFT convention featured a debate and resolution condemning loyalty oaths as a condition of employment; so much attention was devoted to the issue that it became the theme of the meeting.

*Noble sentiments from* ***American School Board Journal****, December '32*

In cities where cutbacks, large pay cuts, payment in scrip and delayed checks were common, teachers flocked to the union. The New York local grew from 1500 to 4200 in just over six months despite a split that lost several hundred members. A separate local of Works Progress Administration (WPA) adult education teachers, with a membership of 2500, was organized rapidly at about the same time. WPA teachers were usually public school teachers on welfare.

These successes led the newly-hatched House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), led by Martin Dies, to turn its baleful eye on teachers union activities in 1938. This variation of the recurrent Red Scare, less effective than either the earlier Palmer or later McCarthy versions, nevertheless kept the AFT and other progressive organizations busy defending their basic constitutional rights. The difference between this and other Red Scares was the steadily growing strength of the labor movement, backed by the ability of the liberal New Deal administration to defend its allies.

## The CSFT

In marked contrast to the AFT's growth in the Midwest and East Coast was stagnation in California. A measure

of the poor shape of the CSFT comes to us via a report on the semi-annual meeting of the organization in 1932. Recounting the visit of the AFT national Executive Secretary, Florence Hanson, to the state federation meeting, the report tells us that

> The widespread demand for economy, the weight of the depression, coupled by an insidious public press attack had discouraged all but the leaders of the few locals that have weathered the storm; but with the coming of Mrs. Hanson to San Francisco a new spirit has been engendered; hope has revived; a re-awakened interest sprang to life, and many cities called for the charmed voice, the magic touch of our National Executive Secretary.

Apparently this "new spirit" didn't last long, for in CSFT secretary Anne Dart's *American Teacher* article on "Tenure in California" in March-April 1936 we find a similar celebration of 'renewal':

> We are very hopeful of our situation in California. Some of us have clamored rather loudly for the State Federation of Teachers to get into action again. Our state convention was a success, and we now have in California eight locals. We have banded together in the tenure fight the bravest and most knowing school men and women in California, all of whom enjoy the "storm and stress" of fighting things to the finish. We know that academic freedom, organization, and tenure are all parts of the same struggle toward a better life for all workers.

The deaths and births of the CSFT followed upon one another in increasingly rapid succession; by the September/October *American Teacher* the journal was able to report once more that "The California State Federation of Teachers has been reborn and is now living an active career." We may infer from these repeated protestations of health that the patient was in serious trouble. During this period there were no regular statewide publications; no records come down to us of CSFT presidents between 1933 and 1939; and by 1940 the national organization was warning the CSFT that it was in danger of losing its charter for lack of enough active locals.

All was not quiet, however. The national struggle conducted by the AFT for tenure included skirmishes in California. In each legislative session, anti-labor forces introduced bills to roll back the 1921 tenure law, already weakened in 1927 (with California Teachers Association approval) to exclude teachers in districts with less than 850 average daily attendance. In 1933 a provision was added to the law allowing teachers to be dismissed for "criminal syndicalism", which, two years before the passage of the Wagner Act, essentially meant union activities. The weakened state of the CSFT, and the willingness of the CTA to wage battles against union-sponsored amendments to strengthen tenure (1936), resulted in short careers for many teachers.

*Dr. Ernest 'Jack' Hilgard*

One cause that did manage to ignite statewide support and galvanize a CSFT struggle was the case of Eureka teacher Victor Jewett. A member of the CTA (and later, AFT Local 349), he had received excellent evaluations throughout his five-year career as a social studies teacher. Then he committed the crime of "unprofessional conduct". The evidence of Jewett's unfitness to teach were: his expression, both within and outside of school, of his opposition to war; his condemnation of William Randolph Hearst's "Buy American" campaign; and use of *The Nation*, *New Republic* and *Living Age* magazines as references in his class. But by far the blackest mark against him was his support of a local lumber workers strike. In a caustic article printed in the AFT's national press, Jewett ridiculed the hypocritical type of "professionalism" espoused by his enemies, and delineated the reasons why true professionalism lies in teacher organization.

After he was fired by the Board of Education, he filed suit, and the Superior Court upheld his dismissal. His own organization, the CTA, disavowed him, and Jewett reported that "calumny against me has been spread by officials of that association." The CSFT organized a defense committee, raised money, and hired an attorney for him. AFL unions, along with AFT locals from around the country, provided funds to appeal the Superior Court decision. The Education Association and its affiliates were finally pressured into lending assistance to Jewett's cause. Ultimately, however, Jewett lost his appeal.

The CSFT was generally less than the sum of its parts in these years. California had its regional counterparts to the academic luminaries associated with the AFT back east, notably Professors Ernest Hilgard of Stanford and J. Robert Oppenheimer of UC Berkeley. Hilgard, chair of the Psychology Department at Stanford and author of an important work on hypnosis, served as president of his local in the late 30s. The physicist Oppenheimer, later to head the top secret Manhattan Project that developed

the nuclear bomb during World War II, was at least an activist and possibly local president as well. Despite such distinguished assistance, no individual took responsibility for steering the CSFT through its rough times.

A few locals sustained the thin statewide presence of the union. Local 31 published a regular newsletter, *The Teachers' Voice*, and its pamphlet "Organized Labor, Staunch Friend of the Schools" was reprinted by the *American Teacher*. It generally functioned as the lobbying arm of the state federation throughout the 20s and 30s. The San Francisco Federation of Teachers Local 61 maintained a lobbyist in Sacramento to augment the efforts of Local 31 in the early 30s, until declining membership forced them to discontinue the practice. Local 61 also broadcast a weekly radio program, and led the efforts to defend tenure in San Francisco. The union played a vigorous role in protecting the raises teachers won in 1930 against continuous efforts to cut salaries throughout the Depression.

Within its limited means, the CSFT worked to organize new locals. During the 30s fourteen locals were chartered, of which six survived into the next decade. One of the most significant occurrences for the CSFT was the founding in 1935 of a viable local in Los Angeles. The CSFT was determined to open Los Angeles, with the largest school system in the state, to teacher unionism. An earlier union, Local 77, had never managed to gain more than a few dozen adherents. Despite several trips south by CSFT's second president, E. J. Dupuy, in the early 20s, enthusiasm for labor affiliation did not overtake the L.A. teachers. Local 77 succumbed to continuous attacks by the School Board, aided by redbaiting editorials in the notoriously anti-union *Los Angeles Times*.

Local 430 was chartered under different circumstances: with the support of a rising labor movement and amid increasing dissatisfaction among L.A. teachers with their several clubs and associations. It went on record opposing the dismissal of some teachers, and succeeded — with labor assistance — in reversing one dismissal. As a result of the celebrated Chaney case, in which two teachers fired for activism in the peace movement and the teachers' union were rehired, the local also got the School Board to rescind an old Palmer-era prohibition against teachers joining unions. Nonetheless, Local 430 did not grow like a prairie fire. Teachers in Los Angeles chose AFT membership almost exclusively out of ideological commitment. While its membership rose to over 100 within a few years, making it the largest at the time in the CSFT, that wasn't saying much, especially in a school district with over 11,000 teachers.

But the formation of the L.A. local did have its impact on the CSFT. Recognizing that the weaknesses of the state organization hurt the locals, Local 430 helped push the CSFT to meet regularly in the latter half of the 30s. Local 430 members became state officers and infused new blood into an all but defunct outfit. This is probably the meaning of at least the last of the reiterated statements of "new life" for the CSFT cited earlier. In return, in the late 30s the CSFT helped raise funds to support defense cases for L.A. teachers.

But the overall picture was not bright. Of the 42,000 teachers employed in California in 1939, 37,000 belonged to the CTA. In many districts CTA membership was a prerequisite for teaching, and it was expected that your first month's salary be paid to the CTA as price for the privilege of becoming a member of the "profession." None of these extenuating circumstances, however, was of much consolation to the members of the CSFT, which in the Depression decade had advanced only marginally from 300 members in 1930 to somewhat less than 500 in 1939. Under these conditions the statewide teachers' union was functionally, in the words of several participants of the time, little more than a debating society.

# 1940s

## The War and Its Aftermath

The early years of the War decade found the CSFT struggling much as it had in the past, although with the benefit of hindsight we can see the first signs of change in the air. While for three years — 1941-44 — there was no official AFT state federation in California, local activities did not come to a halt. The labor movement was seemingly stronger than it had ever been. As a result of its militant pre-war organizing, more workers belonged to unions than at any point previously. Agreements between major corporations and labor — facilitated by the government — had achieved union shop agreements and automatic dues check-offs in return for a "no-strike" pledge for the duration of the war. Thus the atmosphere for union organizing had become quite different from the AFT's earliest days.

The national AFT was at last gathering a real head of steam. In 1943 the national union reported that it had just experienced its greatest growth spurt in over twenty years. It was using its new-found strength to play a greater role within the AFL nationally and to fund heightened organizing campaigns. Officially it came out against the witchhunts of the Dies Committee, although internally there was a growing movement against Communist influence, which resulted in the expulsion of the New York and Philadelphia locals in 1941. Despite these traumas, the union continued to grow during the war.

Meanwhile, the California Federation actually lost members. By 1941 the CSFT spoke for a mere 250 members. National Secretary-Treasurer Irvin Kuenzli complained in a letter to CSFT Secretary May Kirkham in January that the money spent organizing in California over the past few years far exceeded the per-capita dues payments to the national; membership had decreased by nearly 100 teachers. By the end of the year AFT revoked the charter of the CSFT for maintaining less than the required five locals in good standing.

After the start of the war, San Francisco Federation president Ed Gallagher explained to the national office that transportation was difficult in such a large state, and the war had drained off members to service. Apparently, factionalism and personality conflicts between local leaders hadn't helped matters any, either. In a letter to the CSFT's locals, which had by now grown again to nine, Gallagher pleaded for renewed coordination. He asked Local 31's Ruth Dodds, a national AFT vice president, to assist his efforts in pulling the CSFT back together. Although Gallagher and Dodds personally didn't get along, by July of 1944 Dodds had submitted the necessary local letters to the national AFT, and the CSFT, with a new charter, had another lease on life.

With such a small statewide membership, it makes sense that much of the organization's energies went into coalition work with the rest of the labor movement. Yet there was a surprising amount of local activism as well. In 1940 Local 430 successfully fought against pay cuts, and in the same year achieved a restoration of the jobs of the Chaneys, two union teachers who had been fired for their political activities. Palo Alto Local 442 was a strong participant in the Co-op movement, extremely popular in California; Palo Alto member Joel Berreman, of Stanford University, became the CSFT's first president of the decade. The Sacramento local waged a winning struggle for sabbatical leave pay. Just before Pearl Harbor, the CSFT presidency moved south, with Frank C. Davis of UCLA, Local 430, picking up the torch.

Local activism, however, couldn't overcome the essentially poor state of affairs in the CSFT, attested to by a laconic summary in *American Teacher*: "A report on a program of action and policy to justify the federation's existence and provide for an extension of its influence was the basis of much of the

convention's discussion." The delegates also promised one another that four issues of a state newsletter, to be named *California Teacher*, would appear each year. (The promise was not to be fulfilled until 1948.)

There were some significant energies expended, if not well-coordinated, around curricular issues. In California, as across the rest of the country, school boards in many districts caved in to conservative pressures to ban a series of social studies textbooks, *Progressive Education*, by Harold Rugg, which had been in common usage. Under the banner of academic freedom, Locals 61 and 430 drummed up considerable labor support in the losing effort. The CSFT lodged protests with local and state politicians, to no avail.

After 1941, AFT locals in the Bay Area and in Los Angeles worked to support the war effort and various social issues. Members of the San Francisco local donated a day's salary to the city's War Chest. Local 430 activist Abraham Minkus was appointed chair of a district-wide committee convened by the Board to study interracial relations in the school district, which led to Board-approved in-service and education programs.

The late 40s saw a war within labor that cut across the lines of the AFL/CIO split, in which the right and left wings of the movement fought to the death. As a result of the Cold War, labor became a target for a resurgent national conservativism. The Taft-Hartley Act passed in 1947 over Truman's veto, effectively crippling the labor movement by preventing it from utilizing its militant organizing tactics of the previous decade. Taft-Hartley also mandated loyalty affidavits for union officers which affirmed non-membership in the Communist Party. Rather than face investigation by HUAC and other crusading governmental bodies, the leadership of the AFL and the CIO offered to "clean house" themselves. Many unions were expelled from the CIO for alleged communist domination, and AFL unions suffered upheaval and internal witchhunts.

In 1948 the CIO purged its public employee union, which had given shelter to the expelled AFT locals from the East Coast. HUAC hearings connected with the CIO action dragged out the old AFT schism, casting a shadow on teachers everywhere. Compounding matters, teacher strikes led to legislative reprisals, calling for loyalty oaths, jail terms for strikers, and investigations of "subversives." AFT faced an uncertain future.

This is the background for the story of Los Angeles Local 430 in the second half of the World War II decade, a story which contains many of the elements of a tragedy. The CSFT's largest local had achieved some notable successes, winning a few important teacher defense battles, gaining substantial amounts of new members and earning the accolades of the national AFT in 1946 for its good work. By 1948 the Los Angeles Local had absorbed a couple of smaller teacher associations and its membership topped 800. Its president, Harold Orr, had been elected president of the CSFT in 1946 and reelected twice. Under his leadership the statewide organization was growing, with several locals in northern California pushing over 100 members and new activists and leaders emerging among them. (One of these, Ed Ross, president of Alameda County local 771, had barely lost the election against Orr for president of the CSFT at its 1947 convention.) At Orr's urging, the number of locals paying per capita dues to labor councils and the California Labor Federation increased from four to eleven; and a statewide organizing fund was established for the first time in years.

As occurred after the first World War, the influx of returning veterans in 1945-6 helped drive membership numbers upward; so Orr's leadership was not the only

LOS ANGELES FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

Local 430
American Federation of Teachers
Station H, Box 616, Los Angeles, Calif.

March 1945

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

The Teachers' Union wishes to express its deep appreciation for the complete support, without a dissenting vote, given it by the delegates to the UAFL in the selection of Board of Education candidates.

We urge your vigorous support for UAFL-recommended candidates Catherine E. Breslin, George E. Ellicott and Faye E. Allen.

The UAFL took "no action" on a fourth candidate, inasmuch as we were not then prepared to make a fourth proposal. At this time, however, we wish to urge every labor group to complete its ticket with John W. Baldwin, a man who had an excellent record as personnel director of the schools from 1932-1935, who is a friend of organized labor, and who is at present a geological engineer.

For A Better Board of Education, vote for Allen, Baldwin, Breslin and Ellicott.

Fraternally,
Harold L. Orr
Harold L. Orr, President
Amer. Fed. of Teachers, #430, AFL

P.S. Please check action taken by your group on the enclosed card and return.

*Letter from Harold Orr to Los Angeles AFL's political action organization in happier days.*



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

factor in CSFT growth. Nor was Orr's style of leadership without problems for organizing Los Angeles teachers. In a district of 11,000 teachers, the overwhelming majority were not impelled to flock into the arms of the AFT in any case. Orr and his group practiced a highly politicized brand of unionism, characterized by an increasing sharpness of tone as the immediate postwar years grew less hospitable to the liberal-left coalition that had held together within many unions for a decade. There were teachers who, open to a bread-and-butter unionism, failed to appreciate the nuances of the connection between their daily classroom lives and "the deleterious effects of the Truman Doctrine on the class struggle in Europe" — a typical discussion topic at local 430 meetings. In addition, some members complained of Orr's "heavy gavel" at the local's meetings, making it difficult for opposing points of view to carry the field.

In 1947 Los Angeles teacher Walter Thomas helped found an opposition caucus to Orr's group of left-leaning officers and activists. That year Thomas ran and lost against Orr for the Local 430 presidency. The following year Thomas' caucus raised the money to send him to the AFT national convention, where he made a presentation to the Executive Council claiming voting irregularities in the election. He also asserted that Orr's group was following the Communist Party line in its decisionmaking, and acting in a generally undemocratic fashion.

The national AFT Executive Council decided an investigation was in order, not only of local 430 but also of San Francisco Local 61 at the same time. In San Francisco the local had had long-standing connections with the California Labor School, an independent labor studies center with classes on economics, politics, parliamentary procedure, labor history and collective bargaining. It had hosted an official reception of visiting union leaders from around the world during balmier times for U.S.-Soviet relations, the 1946 United Nations meetings in San Francisco. This was now held against it; and the San Francisco Labor Council, formerly friendly to the school, was warning its locals that the school was Communist-controlled.

Following the investigation of the locals, the national AFT ordered San Francisco to sever its relationship with the California Labor School or face expulsion. After initial resistance, the local gave in to pressure from the national AFT, the San Francisco Labor Council, local politicians and George Meany himself, putting its members on notice they were no longer to support or teach at the School. The local remained in good standing.

Local 430 didn't fare so well. The national Executive Council found that the local was guilty of six charges. Interestingly enough, the voting irregularity accusation was not one of these. Four of the charges were quite vague, e.g., "The AFT in Los Angeles was in general disrepute", and "Publications of Local 430 were undignified and discreditable." Of the two findings with substance, one determined that the local had cooperated with a CIO union, directly ignoring AFL directives. The other determination was the key: that the Los Angeles teachers union refused to take action in support of Section 9, Article 3, of the AFT constitution (barring membership to Fascists, Nazis and Communists). Since no one was accusing the local of harboring Fascists or Nazis, the inference was unmistakeable.

The charter of the Los Angeles Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 430, was revoked outright, and the local expelled from the AFT. The Thomas group became the charter members of the new Los Angeles Teachers Union, AFT Local 1021. Orr and his associates were refused access to the pages of *American Teacher* to explain their side of the story, and told to come to the next convention and appeal the decision, as provided for in the AFT constitution. They sent a representative, whose arguments failed to persuade the delegates; the resolution upholding the Executive Council's decision was supported by a roll call vote of 792-108, and Local 430 was no more.

Over 100 members and friends of the new local 1021 came to the chartering ceremony in October 1948, which received a fair amount of positive press. In attendance along with the new president, Joseph Voorhees, were local union and political leaders, including Roy Brewer, national Vice-President of IATSE, who had made his career by redbaiting and helping to break left-leaning unions in Hollywood. Over time Voorhees, anxious to disassociate the LATU from its predecessor's "red" public image, appeared before legislative committees to divulge what he knew about Orr and Local 430. This was part of a long-term effort by Local 1021 to remove the taint of Communism from teacher unionism in Los Angeles.

Within five years many of the former leaders of Local 430 were no longer teaching, having been fired by the School Board for taking the Fifth Amendment at HUAC hearings, to which they had been summoned after being named by another teacher as Communists. The LAFT attempted to join the CIO, but was thwarted by United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther, who said that teachers belonged in the AFL. The former local persisted in a non-affiliated existence, coming to Board meetings and publishing a newsletter until the mid-50s.

Strains between the new local and the state organization were evident from the outset. The CSFT found itself at the end of the 40s with a membership less than half of what it was previous to Local 430's expulsion. For not only did they lose several hundred teachers in Los Angeles; the Cold War atmosphere — like the Palmer period in the 20s —

made teachers think twice about joining any union. In Los Angeles the new union struggled with problems from both ends of the political spectrum: old 430 members loyal to the vanquished LAFT held aloof from Local 1021 because the new union was on the wrong side in the Cold War; while most teachers stayed away in droves because 1021 was still an AFT local, and too radical by definition. Membership numbers dipped in many CSFT locals in 1948-49, but Los Angeles suffered the most.

With Orr gone, Ed Ross became president of the CSFT. CSFT leaders, including Ross, found themselves in a difficult position. Whatever differences they may have had with Local 430 leaders' politics, many of them personally liked and respected the Los Angeles teachers for having pulled the organization back together. A north-south split emerged along the lines of primary allegiance to the CSFT (north) and to the national AFT (south). Another division opened up between the large locals (primarily Los Angeles and San Francisco) and small locals, relating to per capita obligations to the CSFT. Local 1021 kept lines of communication open to the national organization; but mutual distrust conspired with geography to keep the CSFT divided.

Ross did what he could to remedy the situation. Developing the most extensive organizing plan yet by the CSFT, he raised $2500 from the California Labor Federation and from the AFT to organize in both ends of the state. He got the AFT to send out national staffer Victoria Almon to assist. Ten thousand letters were sent to California teachers. The long-promised CSFT newsletter, *California Teacher*, first saw its mimeographed light of day in August 1948, edited by CSFT secretary Emma Brubaker. It has managed to maintain regular publication ever since.

Ross himself, a full-time classroom teacher, found the time and means to go from city to city to encourage teachers to organize, the union paying only for his expenses (and sometimes not even that). He was re-elected at the November 1949 convention, and during his full term helped eight more locals to come into being. He worked thanklessly and without spectacular success to mend fences with Local 1021. He also presented two important resolutions at the California Labor Federation convention. One established labor-funded scholarships for high school students, a program that, much expanded, remains in place to this day. With the other resolution, all AFL unions in California condemned special loyalty oaths as a condition of employment for teachers. In his role as a working teacher who somehow created room in the rest of his life to represent the interests of all California teachers, he prefigured the vision and activism of CSFT's famous president of the next decade, Ben Rust.

*—from Local 1021's wholesome* ***The Union Teacher****, v. 1 No. 1, September 1949*

# 1950s

## The Teachers Union That Came in From the Cold War

If the early 50s proved anything, it's that the creation, preservation and extension of civil liberties of every generation have to be defended and won all over again by the next one. Heir to the Palmer Raids and Dies Committee witchhunts, McCarthyism scarred far more than teachers and their unions before it was through. For teachers in California, it defined the very atmosphere of the times, attempting and often succeeding in making any action out of the ordinary seem opposed to 'freedom', 'democracy' and 'the American Way of Life'.

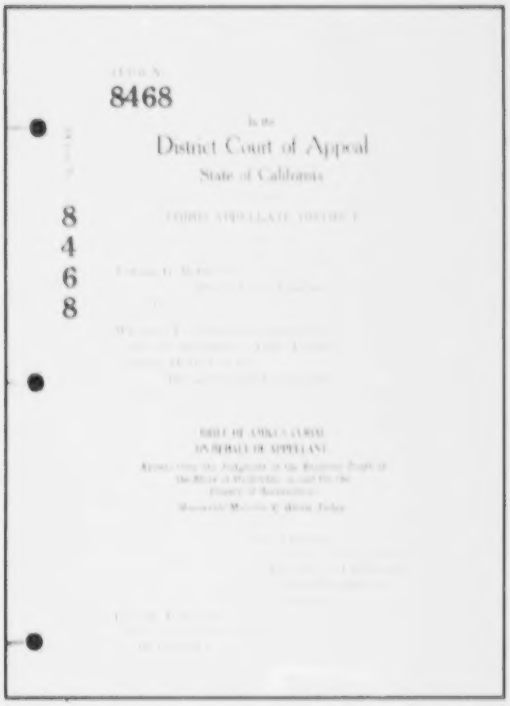
The issue was not merely philosophical. Many federal and state laws were passed making new or continued employment contingent upon the signing of loyalty oaths; others made current or past membership in the Communist Party sufficient cause for dismissal. Congressional committees were set up to implement the new laws. The most famous, of course, was the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and the person most directly identified with the anti-Communist crusade, Joe McCarthy. The witchhunts associated with these people and institutions bred their local counterparts, and they didn't stop with persecuting Communists.

In New York more than 250 teachers were forced out of teaching from 1948 to 1953. 30 of these resulted from invoking the Fifth Amendment before one of several congressional committees; 31 after testifying; scores more had to quit under pressures direct and indirect. According to *California Teacher* (November-December 1954) the first teacher called to testify committed suicide on Christmas Eve, 1948. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, in a dissenting opinion when the Court upheld New York's Feinberg law, stated that "What happens under this law is typical of what happens in a police state. Teachers are under constant surveillance; their pasts are combed for signs of disloyalty; their utterances are watched for clues to dangerous thoughts. A pall is cast over the classroom..."

On the other side of the country, a dozen Los Angeles teachers were fired under the Dilworth Act for taking the Fifth Amendment in front of the Velde Committee, which the editor of *California Teacher* called "a pocket edition of McCarthy in Los Angeles". Dismissed from his longtime teaching post at San Diego State, former AFT Vice President from California Harry Steinmetz noted that for every teacher summoned before such bodies a thousand are silenced. In the northern portion of the state, in an all-too rare management show of understanding for teachers' predicament, it was the view of San Francisco Superintendent of Public Schools Herbert Clish that teachers "...are afraid to discuss controversial issues in the classrooms. They are afraid of community pressures." A generation of children were denied teachers able to openly discuss and stand up for their ideas.

The CSFT's defense of academic freedom and opposition to loyalty oaths stood out in those years from other education organizations with their meek, get-along attitudes. Two issues put the CSFT on the California education map in these years: defense of basic constitutional rights for everyone, including teachers; and the struggle between teachers and adminstrators to define authority over the classroom. Again and again the small union rose to defend teachers in conservative courts: the Elizabeth Baldwin tenure case (fired for being over 40), the case of Stan Jacobs' dismissal for cause, and others too numerous to list. Two cases out of the many fought by the union in those difficult years will suffice to demonstrate these concepts.

Ed McGrath taught at Sacramento High School. After he questioned his principal's authority to assign him to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work as a "policeman" at school sports events in the evenings and on weekends, he was removed as chair of the social studies department and transferred to teaching English. He was also given a heavier teaching load than any other teacher in the district. McGrath filed suit against the District Superintendent. His case was supported by Sacramento Local 31, the CSFT, the AFT, and various labor bodies. The CTA took no position until the day McGrath and his union attorney were in court pleading his case. A CTA attorney showed up, sat down with the Superintendent and his lawyers, and requested permission to appear as an amicus curiae, or friend of the court. The state president of the CTA later attempted to portray the CTA lawyer's appearance as "neutral".

McGrath lost the case in Superior Court and appealed. In Fall 1954 the case was heard in Appeals Court. McGrath lost again. But the significance of the McGrath case extended considerably beyond the decision. Widely publicized in *California Teacher* and AFT local publications around the state, McGrath's situation confirmed the suspicions of many teachers that their "professionalism" stood in inverse proportion to the number of "professional" duties heaped on their shoulders outside the classroom. His case reinforced their growing sense that this situation need not be eternal.

In 1950 the Levering Act became law in California, mandating a loyalty oath for employees of the state of California. The only California state senator voting against the bill was George Miller of Contra Costa County, a friend of the president of the Contra Costa County Federation of Teachers, Local 866, Ben Rust.

Shortly after passage of the Levering Act, Frank Rowe was hired to teach art at San Francisco State College. On principle, he refused to sign the Levering Oath. Eason Monroe, a colleague of Rowe's and a tenured professor, told reporters, "The oath attacks the thing it purports to defend." Monroe, like Rowe, was a CSFT member. Both were dismissed for refusal to sign. Monroe became the executive director of the ACLU in California, spending a fair amount of time in his new job fighting the law that had gotten him fired. The CSFT voted to extend a free year's dues extension to Monroe in recognition of his services to teachers' cause.

It wasn't until 1967 that the Levering Act was declared unconstitutional by the California Supreme Court. Rowe's case, along with others' from San Francisco State, meanwhile dragged on for years, handled by the ACLU and later on by attorneys of United Professors of California, the state-wide affiliate of the CSFT in the colleges. He was finally given a class assignment in Fall, 1977, at San Francisco State. Since he had in the meantime become a full-time instructor at Laney College in Oakland (and member of Peralta Federation of Teachers, Local 1603) he taught the course chiefly for the symbolism of it.

The CSFT published a pamphlet in 1950 that declared, "The Levering Oath is in contradiction to the Federal Constitution since it imposes on public workers a political test for employment, deprives them of equal protection under the law as guaranteed in the 14th Amendment, and exposes them through its ambiguity to self-incrimination and perjury." In contrast, the CTA supported the Dilworth law used to fire the Los Angeles teachers. Responding to a question from a member at a CTA legislative meeting in February of 1953, CTA leader Harry Fosdick weakly remarked, "The CTA has gone along with a lot of bills in the past....I think we will have to take a stand pretty soon on these 'loyalty' bills." (The NEA invited speakers from the American Legion, one of the most outspoken advocates of loyalty oaths, every year to its convention from the Legion's founding through 1959.)

Nowhere were the divergences in philosophy and willingness to act of the two organizations more clear than in the CSFT 1953 legislative program, its first attempt at sponsorship of a comprehensive package of bills. In addition to Dilworth, there were several more issues on which the teachers union and the CTA found themselves on opposite sides. The union created several bills carried by George Miller and a few other sympathetic legislators on pay raises, duty-free lunch periods, overtime duties unrelated to teaching, and—collective bargaining for teachers. The CTA had a hand in killing each of these proposals. The CSFT took solace that they had learned some important practical lessons about how legislation is created, and congratulated themselves on the solid public relations they enjoyed with teachers from press coverage.

The union had also broadened its

field of battle. The lunch duty and overtime duties bills were an effort to extend the struggle begun with the McGrath case over control of teachers' job descriptions and time away from the classroom. The union introduced these bills at a time when McGrath's case had yet to be resolved, testing the waters over the same issue in a different setting.

The bill calling for collective bargaining for teachers, the first ever attempted, scored important points with many teachers sympathetic to unions yet not ready to take the risky step of breaking with the CTA to join a teachers' union. CSFT's action made the statement to these teachers that, together with legal defense suits and legislation, here was yet another way that problems might be resolved.

CTA's opposition to collective bargaining for teachers was based on the idea that professionals don't need unions. And this was the crux of the difference. The CSFT held that *teachers aren't professional just because other people call them 'professional'* they need the real power over their work lives that professionals possess. Dominated by administrators, the CTA had an obvious stake in opposing this notion, because their opposition allowed their most powerful members — administrators — to continue to rationalize their control over a "teachers association". These points of difference were hammered home by Ben Rust, President of the CSFT over the bulk of the decade, from 1951 to 1958.

Rust's brand of unionism sprang from his commitment to teaching and his skilled trades background. A prolific if homespun writer, Rust was author of numerous books, articles, studies and pamphlets on education, civil liberties, unionism, and other topics. He was absolutely dedicated to the mission of convincing teachers that the path to real professionalism led through the AFT. He possessed nearly endless tolerance for most human foibles, but drew the line when it came to the qualities needed in a teacher. In a diary entry he sternly (and ungrammatically) wrote, "Those who do not love learning, themselves, must not teach."

Rust's alternative to the CTA's empty "professionalism" was the notion that teaching was a craft. On the way to becoming a Master Teacher the teacher should pass through an apprenticeship that forges the qualities of independence, scholarship and pedagogical sophistication. Rust's vision proposed an organic link between the activities of teaching and the craft union tradition, and anticipated reform proposals of three decades later.

Relations with the rest of the labor movement were a constant source of concern for Rust. While outwardly expressing nothing but enthusiasm for the CSFT's labor affiliation, he confessed frustration periodically in his personal diaries with the fluctuating level of support offered teachers by unions. Despite occasional setbacks, Rust's tireless work shuttling back and forth between his membership and other labor groups was a key factor in nourishing the growth of the teachers' union.

Rust was a liberal idealist. He presided over and encouraged the contention of all shades of political opinion within the union. He was committed to "The Spirit of the Bill of Rights" (the title of one of his publications), as well as to the letter. It was Rust at the 1953 national AFT convention who, fighting a rearguard action against resolutions calling for the firing of Communist teachers, introduced a resolution that stated: "While we oppose the employment of Communists in our schools we decry the dismissal of competent employees solely on the ground that they availed themselves of their legal and constitutional rights as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights." The resolution passed by a wide margin.

Rust's idealism tempered a direct, practical side of his character. Under his direction the CSFT hired its first full-time staffer, Henry Clarke, and put an attorney on retainer for legislative and legal duties. *California Teacher* moved from mimeo to print, regularized its publication and was distributed in increasing numbers. Rust raised the funds for this transformation from other unions.

Rust convinced the legislature and many teachers to accept the CSFT as the voice of classroom teachers over the CTA. But perhaps his most important accomplishment was to hold together the northern and southern halves of the organization when Local 1021, smarting after failing to elect their slate at the CSFT convention in 1952, withheld per-capita dues payments to the CSFT for over two years. After repeated entreaties by Rust and others to Local 1021 president Walter Thomas, the Los Angeles local was declared in "bad standing". Disgruntled northern CSFT leaders, sympathetic to the outcast local 450 anyway, wanted to reaffiliate them and cut 1021 loose completely.

The worst polarization occurred in late 1954. Fred Clayson, editor of *California Teacher*, published an unprecedented 24-page, two-color edition, replete with long articles supporting the expelled leftwing teachers' unions in Philadelphia, New York and Los Angeles. The Executive Council asked for and received Clayson's resignation. Within a year Local 1021 had reaffiliated.

As the CSFT began to create a viable statewide presence through regular meetings and publications, proposals for legislation and slow but steady growth in membership, the differences between the teachers' union and the education association became obvious to teachers who genuinely cared about education and its place within the broader society. CSFT Executive Secretary Henry Clarke — who was soon to become a national AFT staffer — pointed out in 1955 that "There has been real purpose behind the CTA legislative program this year.

That purpose has been to establish the CTA as the most powerful, best disciplined 'company union'." An increasing sharpness of tone toward CTA is discernable in the *California Teacher* as the decade progressed, based on the CSFT's surer footing and continued conflicts with the association at the local level and in Sacramento.

From fewer than a thousand teachers in 1950 the CSFT membership had more than doubled by the mid-50s. The uneasy marriage of northern 'ideological' unionists and southern 'bread-and-butter' types seemed to be working, and each side of the state organization continued to do what they did best in the latter part of the decade. In Los Angeles, thanks to efforts by AFT national staffer Kent Pillsbury, CSFT organizer Henry Clarke and especially Local 1021 member Evelyn Carstens, the union picked up hundreds of members when it secured exclusive partnership with Kaiser for health benefits for District teachers, pushing Local 1021 over the 1,000 mark by 1959. In an indication of the growing rivalry between employee groups at the time, the local's Eddie Irwin, elected a national vice president of the AFT in 1954, nearly came to blows with an Association representative at a School Board meeting over the question of payroll deductions of union dues. Irwin and Hank Zivetz, both gifted speakers, acted as if they represented all L.A. teachers, and convinced many that they did.

*Ben Rust*

Meanwhile, northern locals demonstrated for civil liberties and pushed through resolutions condemning the latest outrages by HUAC at CSFT conventions, and seemed to thrive on *that* diet: San Francisco Local 61, for example, steadily gained adherents, with over 600 members by 1958; the local exceeded membership targets each year in the decade.

Increasing legislative successes came in the late fifties. In 1957 — the year that racially segregated AFT locals in the Southern United States were expelled from the national organization — the CSFT worked closely with Los Angeles teacher and AFT member Wilson Riles to write and sponsor SB 2566. Introduced by state senator Richard Richards, the bill established the Commission on Discrimination in Teacher Hiring, the first fair employment practices legislation adopted by the state. It prohibited discrimination in employment of certificated employees. CSFT Executive Secretary Don Henry was named to the Commission by the state superintendent of schools.

In 1959 Ben Rust chose not to run for re-election. Despite the union's successes, Rust felt the strain of attempting to build and hold together an often fractious statewide organization while teaching full-time. The CSFT had had to replace Hank Clarke when the national AFT hired him as its Western Regional staffer. The new Executive Secretary, Don Henry, did not mix well with Rust, and after a few years Rust decided that he would devote himself to teaching. During his tenure the organization nearly tripled in size and stabilized for the first time in its history. Rust's visionary legacy to the California Federation of Teachers — unionism in defense of teaching as a craft — is honored by the annual bestowal at CFT conventions of the Ben Rust Award.

The new president, Lou Eilerman of Long Beach, led the CSFT into the next decade. An art teacher, Eilerman, like Rust, saw teaching in terms of the craft union tradition. Not as politically sophisticated as Rust, he had to learn parliamentary procedure when he became president in order to run the meetings. Nevertheless, he oversaw the greatest successes yet for the CSFT in the legislative arena in 1959. Several CSFT bills were written into law, including one mandating back pay to teachers reinstated after wrongful dismissal.

Symptomatic of the changing tenor of the times, the case of three teachers from Eilerman's Long Beach local, beginning in late 1958, helped stimulate passage of CSFT legislation for probationary teacher protection within a few years. The contracts of these probationary teachers were not renewed; during the court trial sensational evidence, splashed across the front pages of Long Beach newspapers, came to light about FBI spying on one of the teachers for his political activities. While Cold War overtones colored the case, the outcome in 1961 (protective legislation) was different than it might have been a decade earlier.

Eilerman brought the CSFT out of Ben Rust's pockets and installed it in an office with a phone, mimeograph machine and filing cabinets. It was also during Eilerman's presidency that the first college locals of the CSFT were chartered, including several community colleges and state colleges.

One more small event, but a milestone of sorts, must be noted. In late 1958 the first California AFT local won collective bargaining rights. Representing teachers in film and TV studios in Los Angeles, the private sector victory of Local 1323 foreshadowed the accomplishment of the teachers' union nearly two decades later, when a collective bargaining bill for public school employees was finally signed into law. But before that story can be told another must be recounted: the 60s.

# 1960s

**"Teacher Power"**

In May 1960 the United Federation of Teachers of New York City threatened to strike if the school board did not agree to hold a collective bargaining election for New York teachers. After months of stalling by the board, the teachers went out on a very successful one-day strike in November on Election Day. This resulted in a June, 1961 vote, overwhelmingly in favor of collective bargaining. The following December the teachers of New York voted decisively for the UFT against two rival organizations.

After failing to negotiate a contract with the recalcitrant board, the UFT called the teachers out again in April, despite anti-union media hysteria and New York laws barring public employee strikes. The teachers achieved a $700 across-the-board raise, grievance and arbitration procedures, and improved working conditions. A new era had arrived.

The events in New York were like a spark touching off a fire in a very dry forest. The national AFT grew from less than 60,000 members in 1960 to over 200,000 by the end of the decade. More than 300 teacher strikes occurred throughout the country during the ten years following UFT's one-day walkout. The NEA was forced to move in the direction of becoming a real union or be put out of business by its rapidly expanding rival, reluctantly supporting strikes for teacher demands "as a last resort" and beginning to eliminate adminstrators from some affiliates' units.

In California, changes no less dramatic were taking place. Inspired by the example of their brothers and sisters across the country, new members flocked into the California Federation of Teachers (the "State" was officially dropped from the name at the 1963 convention). The organization multiplied five-fold, from a few thousand to nearly 15,000 by 1970.

Politically the new decade began auspiciously for the CSFT. A spirited defense of students who had been violently attacked by police while peacefully protesting a HUAC hearing in San Francisco in May, 1960 led to the chartering of a string of new locals in the colleges, starting with San Francisco State Local 1352.

Teacher unionism did not emerge suddenly in the 60s from a vacuum. The "profession", nearly all female in the founding days of the AFT, had become somewhat gender-integrated by the end of the 50s, although women remained a large majority, especially in elementary grades. While in other periods women often led teacher struggles, in the late 50s increasing numbers of men appeared to have brought with them a heightened militancy, along with their expectations for a "family wage." The influx of veterans in the mid-50s from the Korean War seemed to stiffen the backbone of teachers in many districts, following the pattern of postwar gains in membership and militance. At the same time, what had traditionally been a largely middle class occupation began to attract more job-seekers from blue collar families, with a greater awareness of and affinity to unions. (The effects of this sociological shift, however, were mixed. Some teachers from working class backgrounds, eager to clamber up into middle class respectability, would have nothing to do with unions.)

By the mid 60s political activism in the country was rising to a post-war high. The great civil rights, student and anti-war movements swept away the fearful, conformist atmosphere of the Cold War. In the labor movement, the AFL-CIO put money and organizers into the public sector, with excellent results: millions of members in services and government work were added to unions in those years, including teachers.

But it took some doing for all this to happen. Looking back at his local in 1960 from the vantage of the 80s, Raoul Teilhet noted that "It was more like

joining the French Underground than a union; we had more secret members than public members." After conservative state senator Hugh Burns redbaited the CSFT's legislative advocate Andrew Barrigan in early 1962, Barrigan's credibility was sufficiently damaged that he felt it best to resign. The CSFT had to win a number of legislative and legal victories before the lingering effects of the Cold War in education could be shaken off.

The CFT's growth spurt was aided by passage in 1961 of the Brown Act, which granted public employees in California the right to join or not join the employee organization of their choice. Although explicitly excluding collective bargaining, it granted a broad scope to 'meet and confer' rights for teacher organizations. The Brown Act gave the union the legal ability to organize and recruit members, and the right to be recognized as a legitimate employee organization.

Maurice Englander was elected CSFT president in 1962, the same year that conservative Max Rafferty became state Superintendent of Instruction. During his presidency the organization grew and won a number of important legal and legislative victories.

A San Francisco Federation of Teachers activist and chair of the English Department at Lowell High School, Englander had served as CSFT vice-president under Lou Eilerman, and supported the expansion of the union into the state university and community college systems. He reasoned that the imprimatur of professors — as with Albert Einstein and John Dewey in the past — would lend prestige to the CSFT and boost its image as a professional organization for K-12 teachers, undercutting CTA's argument that unions weren't "professional". For similar reasons he helped to establish the *Union Review*, an academic quarterly devoted to labor issues; it was to provide a publishing outlet for professors, thereby recruiting members among the professoriate as well. Don Knapp of the newly-chartered San Francisco State College Local 1352 was named editor. Unfortunately, the *Review* received little support within or outside the CSFT; it folded after one superb issue. Authors in the short-lived *Review* included labor writer/activist Sidney Lens, U.S. Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, education author Myron Lieberman and sociologist Seymour Lipset.

*Hugh MacColl, Lucille Grieve, and Maureen Clarke before AB 337 testimony*

Another CTA argument against the CSFT was the CTA's insurance programs for teachers. Englander established an insurance trust for the union to offer teachers, too.

Englander chaired the CFT Legislative Committee, which had been formed to assist attorney Joe Genser draft legislation and give testimony in Sacramento; under his direction the CSFT legislative program achieved some notable successes. In 1961 the Fisher Act, supported by the CSFT only after significant amendments, abolished the education major. It stated that all teachers must have a bachelor's degree and credential in an academic subject matter area. As amended it embodied a significant aspect of the CSFT's position on teaching as a profession: teachers would now command expertise over specific subject areas. Local 771 activist David Creque and CSFT Secretary Farrel Broslawsky helped draft the language eventually passed into law.

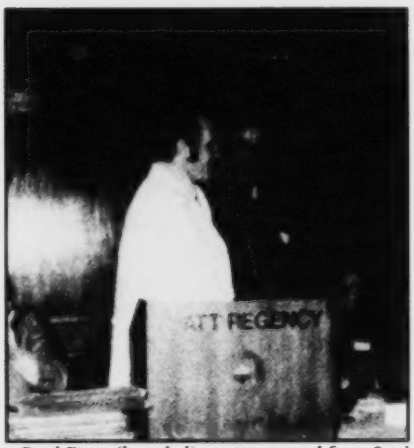
Ironically, CTA's opposition to the Fisher Act ended up working in favor of the bill's passage. The Association encouraged its members to write letters condemning the proposed law to their legislative representatives. Some of these were read out loud by angry legislators to their colleagues; advocates cited the near-illiteracy of the teachers' letters as proof of the need for passage of Fisher's bill.

The same year another important victory was won for teacher rights with passage of the Probationary Teacher Protection Act, AB 337, which provided for a mandatory hearing before dismissal. CTA and virtually every other educational organization opposed AB 337, but legislators were convinced by CSFT arguments that included transcripts of courtroom testimony from the case of the three Long Beach teachers Raymond de Groat, Lucille Couvillon-Grieve and Maureen Cameron-Clarke. De Groat had been fired for alleged leftwing political activities ten years before; Couvillon-Grieve and Cameron for defending de Groat. All were probationary teachers. Although the case had been lost, the judge while rendering his verdict stated that if he had been a member of the school board, he "would have granted tenure to these three fine teachers"; but current law prevented him from changing the school board's decision. The judge's words helped sway the necessary votes to pass AB 337 into law, mandating the right for every teacher to receive a letter stating the reasons for dismissal; a public hearing based on those reasons; and appeal the decision of the hearing to a court on the basis of the procedures of the hearing. The CSFT was assisted by strong lobbying from the California Labor Federation. Passage of the bill capped an 11-year struggle for the CSFT.

In 1962 the Jack Owens case, called

by Englander "the Magna Carta for teachers", came to a successful conclusion. As with Victor Jewett and Ed McGrath before him, Owens — a former northern director for the CTA and president of his local Association — had been fired in 1959 for the heinous crime of "unprofessional conduct", as determined by the CTA's ethics commission. The activities that prompted his firing were hosting a series of educational forums and writing letters to the editor of the local newspaper critical of the school district. The CTA found him guilty of violating their code of ethics, the board fired him, and when Owens went to court their decision was upheld. But the state credentials commission refused to revoke his credential, and in 1962 an appeals court decision reversed the lower court ruling, finding essentially that the CTA's committee had no standing to determine a teacher's "professionalism." Throughout Owens' ordeal the Federation raised funds, held rallies and publicized his cause.

In another key case, in 1963 Pasadena teacher Paul Finot was reassigned to home teaching because he refused to shave off the beard he'd grown over summer. A school board member let drop unwise remarks indicating Finot's union activism was probably the real cause of the disciplinary action. His principal worried publicly about the unsettling effects that the beard might have "on Negro students." The irony that Finot taught at John Muir High School, whose namesake sported a rather prominent set of whiskers, apparently was lost upon the school board.



*Paul Finot (bearded) accepts award from Saul Glickman, CFT Teacher Rights banquet, 1974*

In Superior Court he was asked, "Isn't your beard an outgrowth of your radicalism?" Finot responded, "It is an outgrowth of my six week fishing trip." The case went to an appeals court in 1967, when Finot was vindicated as the judge declared that "A beard for a man is an expression of his personality", and "...symbols, under appropriate circumstances, merit constitutional protection."

It was for supporting teachers like de Groat, Couvillon-Grieve, Cameron, Owens and Finot that the CSFT and CFT became known as the "ACLU for teachers". Although the CFT lost a majority of the cases, enough were won that a body of law was slowly built up around teacher rights; most of the key teacher rights rulings applicable today in California were won by the union in the 60s and early 70s. The string of court losses regarding probationary teachers served another purpose: it gave the CFT ammunition in Sacramento to be able to demonstrate that the probationary protection laws were worthless and needed to be rewritten.

Teacher defense also proved an excellent organizing tool. The CFT attracted many new members for its willingness to fight for teacher rights, no matter what the cost. On the opposite side of the coin, scores of courageous rank and file teachers went through the ordeal of public hearings so that the union's attorneys could create the case law necessary to protect the employment of future teachers. The union's attorneys, particularly Howard Berman, later a U.S. Congressman from Los Angeles, and Stuart Weinberg, from the labor law firm of Levy, Van Bourg, Geffner and De Roy, donated countless pro bono hours to their favorite union causes: teachers and farmworkers.

One more case deserves special mention, that of Marie Whipp, a P.E. department chair in Antelope Valley. Fired during the 1962-63 school year for defending young women teachers from the sexual advances of older male instructors and for calling her principal a "jackass" for protecting the men, her public hearings, held at night, brought out standing-room crowds of parents and teachers. Whipp, holder of a P.E. for handicapped children credential, was very popular with the children's parents. The Superintendent lied on the witness stand, and his promising political career came to an end. The principal broke down under questioning and was fired. However, so was Whipp, since the school board upheld the original firing. She found another job chairing a P.E. department, and went on to become a CFT vice-president and later secretary-treasurer.

In December 1963 CFT Convention delegates elected Fred Horn of San Diego president. He led the CFT through a period in which profound transformations were starting to overtake the organization. With full-time staffers in north and south; with a membership of several thousand and expanding; and with an increasing ability to influence legislation in Sacramento, the union was experiencing growing pains. Membership expansion called for a stronger central organization and statewide presence. Centralization, however, ran against the grain of the union's history, which was characterized by strong locals and a relatively weak, underfunded state office.

Some local leaders stood on principle against strengthening the CFT. Resistance to a staff-run union was based in part on fears of becoming too much like the CTA, which exercised heavy control over its chapters from a large, centralized bureaucracy. The CFT, by contrast, was a rank-and-file oriented

goal as CFT president, he felt, had to be organizational development.

Horn, like his predecessors, travelled around the state, mostly in the south, to help locals organize. He had a small budget; again, in the CFT presidential tradition, part of his expenses came out of his own pocket. Horn believed in the basic tenets of the broader labor movement. His ideological fervor stood firmly in the tradition of the state teachers' union, and kept tempo with the other movements for social justice: he was "honored", for instance, to invite UC Berkeley student Free Speech Movement leader Mario Savio to address the CFT convention in 1964 when Maurice Englander showed up with Savio in tow. (Berkeley graduate students had organized into AFT Local 1570 during the 1964-65 school year.) But a sense of solidarity was no longer enough; a more solid organizational footing was also necessary for effective statewide coordination of the growing California Federation of Teachers.

Horn became ill in spring 1965, and Harley Hiscox, senior vice president, finished Horn's second term of office. The Executive Council appointed Secretary Farrel Broslawsky vice president. As a result Local 1424 president Raoul Teilhet was appointed to his first statewide office, CFT Secretary. Hiscox, although less of a political leader than his predecessors, demonstrated fine organizational skills. Like Horn he concentrated on creating an appropriate infrastructure for the CFT. Shortly after his brief term of office expired the union hired him as its southern Executive Secretary. Later Hiscox was promoted to Director of Organizing.

*The teachers' union and a few friends drop in on Governor Reagan: rally following CFT-led March for Education in Sacramento, 1967*

In 1965, inspired by the examples of New York and other large urban school districts around the country, Local 1021 President Eddie Irwin persuaded the national AFT to help set up a membership campaign in Los Angeles in preparation for moving toward collective bargaining. The AFT and AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department put up the money to hire former CFT Executive Secretary Ralph Schloming to lead the campaign. The lack of a collective bargaining law in the state and divisions among Los Angeles teachers prevented this early effort from achieving success.

Later that same year San Francisco high school teacher Marshall Axelrod became state president at the CFT convention. The rising tide of social and political militance across the country found a resonance in the CFT, with an increasing willingness of teachers to act decisively on their own behalf and in solidarity with the struggle of others. This attitude was reflected in 1965 convention activities. The convention voted to support the struggle of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee, soon to become the United Farmworkers Union. The spectre of Viet Nam raised its head for the first time in discussion and resolutions.



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tural Workers Organizing Committee, soon to become the United Farmworkers Union. The spectre of Viet Nam raised its head for the first time in discussion and resolutions.

The following year teachers in California began to hit the streets. In Berkeley a picket line of 50 teachers accosted members of the School Board over their failure to act on a detested transfer policy. The first teacher strike in California erupted in Richmond, led by President Bill Wagner of Local 866, Contra Costa County Federation of Teachers. At San Francisco State Local 1352 charter members Leonard Wolf, Mark Linenthal and James Schevill held a public reading of poetry seized by San Francisco police, in a demonstration of opposition to "a passive psychology that will allow gradual erosion of the rights of free expression essential to education." At UC Berkeley the graduate student local went on strike for recognition, and with the assistance of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, wrung a grievance procedure from the University administration. The theme at the 1966 CFT convention, at which Axelrod was reelected, was "Teacher Power".

*The United Farm Workers and the CFT: partners in the struggle for social justice*

*The San Francisco State strike brought out media, riot squad and divisions among faculty*

In spring of 1967 the recently-elected Governor of California, Ronald Reagan, slashed the budget of the public schools. Teachers were not inclined to take this quietly. The CFT pulled together a coalition of other unions, students and community organizations, and led a march of 10,000 education supporters in Sacramento. Governor Reagan had refused an invitation to address the demonstration held on the Capitol steps; but he made a dramatic surprise appearance, surrounded by bodyguards. As the Governor appeared, CFT vice-president Miles Myers and a few other desperate CFT leaders held off an angry crowd from storming the platform. While the march failed to generate an influx of school funding, it built teacher morale. The positive publicity for the CFT was enormous among teachers all across the state; and the Governor was put on notice that he faced vocal opposition.

Amid all the turmoil, Axelrod faced the same problem dogging other CFT presidents since the late 50s: how to create and maintain a statewide structure to keep pace with the growth of the membership. He oversaw the implementation in California of the "Coordinated Organizing Program", created by AFT president Dave Selden and United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther. It represented the best-funded organizing effort of the CFT thus far. With matching money from the national AFT, the CFT and locals, Axelrod hired Abe Newman and Keith Nason to work with East Bay locals and the college groups. Each local received organizing assistance, and the staffers helped to engage the locals in common activities. Axelrod also began a practice that worked so well it was continued into the next decade: he had the CFT issue expansion notes to members, on which it would pay interest and purchase for redemption later on. The notes raised several hundred thousand dollars for organizing. The members bought them enthusiastically, both for ideological principle and their excellent interest rates.

Under the CFT president's determined prodding, the convention in 1967



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*AFT 1021 President Larry Sibelman during 1969 Los Angeles strike*

needed staff and expand its work in the field and in Sacramento. From a relatively modest budget of $90,000 in 1967 the CFT found itself with more than $160,000 to spend the following year, thanks to growth and to the per capita increase. Axelrod, however, was not fated to lead the wealthier CFT. For it was at the December 1967 convention that Pasadena High School teacher Raoul Teilhet was elected president, a position he would hold for 17 years.

In Raoul Teilhet the California Federation of Teachers found the leader needed to shepherd its rise to its greatest accomplishment, collective bargaining for California teachers. Teilhet combined the dynamic force of a charismatic personality, the conviction of deeply held political beliefs, and the boundless energy of a spirited organizer. His vision for the continued growth of teacher unionism was based in the idea that the CFT should stake out more progessive positions than the CTA on every issue possible.

Teilhet became the first full-time president of the CFT. This change in tradition did not go down easily for some longtime CFT activists, who believed that for elected union officials to go on staff was the beginning of the long slide toward a CTA-like bureaucracy, out of touch with the membership and their day-to-day classroom struggles. Teilhet, too, remained committed to an activist organization led by an activist president. But he saw that the days were over when the demands on the office could be handled by a full-time classroom teacher. Working with a seasoned and talented field staff, he set out to advance beyond the gains of nearly a decade of uninterrupted growth. The results probably surprised even him.

Within two years the CFT — a mere few thousand in 1960 — doubled in size again, to nearly 15,000. Feeling the heat of its fast-moving challenger, the CTA began to countenance the unthinkable: throwing out its administrator members, supporting collective bargaining, and endorsing teacher strikes.

The close of the 60s found the AFT on the ascendant in California, as in the rest of the country, riding atop a wave of teacher activism. In 1969 northern California was rocked by the San Francisco and San Jose State strikes, demanding transformations in curriculum to reflect changing student populations. The strikes were led by militant AFT locals and Third World student organizations. Achieving national media coverage, the long strike at San Francisco State exacerbated divisions in the faculty that eventually came back to haunt AFT.

In Los Angeles a 1-day strike called by the Association was followed by the AFT local keeping their members out for another day. The Association realized that a successful job action in the future necessitated a united organization. The result the next year was merger: UTLA (United Teachers of Los Angeles), affiliated with both CTA and CFT. Many in the CFT hoped that this foreshadowed a united teachers union for all of California.

*Same song, new signs: newly constituted UTLA out on strike, spring 1970*



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# 1970s

## The Politics of Diversity

The struggle for collective bargaining took place against a backdrop of enormous teacher militancy; indeed, passage of the law finally came about after so many years precisely because of the pressure exerted on legislators by continuous teacher activism. As if eager to validate Teilhet's assessment of how to win members away from the CTA, delegates passed a series of radical resolutions at the CFT convention in December 1969: against the Viet Nam war; calling for abolition of the draft; for setting up draft counseling centers in junior high, high schools, and colleges (and supporting the rights of teachers to hold open discussions on these issues in their classrooms); for affirmative action hiring in public education; for birth control, abortion rights, maternity leave and adequate day care facilities; and supporting a plethora of student, minority, women's and labor struggles. The CFT's budget passed a quarter million dollars, giving the organization an unprecedented ability to turn its ideas into action.

Not content to leave its positions on paper, the CFT continued to fight and win court battles, to push for legislation around teacher rights, and increasingly, to strike to back up local demands with teacher power. The union led a second march of several thousand in Sacramento against cuts in education in 1971. Annual CFT Civil Rights Conferences were held beginning the same year. Revealing substantial courage, first the San Francisco, and then the Los Angeles Archdiocese teachers organized themselves into AFT. Dozens of locals around the state picketed, massed their members at board meetings, and struck; the pages of *California Teacher* in the early 70s are covered with photos and stories about walkouts: in 1973-74 alone 42 locals engaged in some form of militant action.

Early in the decade New Leftists who had become teachers formed a loose statewide radical caucus, which produced an irregular newsletter (*Network*), criticized CFT policies deemed too mild and ran slates of candidates at CFT conventions against Teilhet's Unity Slate. Its activists included Sheila Gold, Joel Jordan, Al and Kathi Rossi, Ed Walker, and Bill and Brenda Winston, among others. Several, running on militant (sometimes abrasive) platforms, were elected to local and statewide posts. While many of its members continued to be active, the caucus itself faded out of existence in a few years. Members of another radical grouping, the national AFT United Action caucus, were also active in California at the time. Independent candidates such as Berkeley teacher Dick Broadhead in 1972 ran and won CFT office (vice-president) against Teilhet's slate.

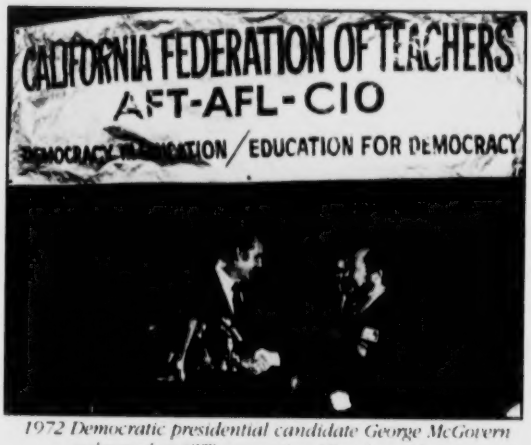
In these same years, while the CFT continued to articulate the union's traditional progressive agenda, the AFT national leadership grew more conservative. The change in the national union reflected the rapid shift in the late 60s to collective bargaining in many large cities. Locked in bitter conflict with the NEA for national leadership of rapidly unionizing teachers, AFT struggled with the tough issues of school funding in declining urban areas, and decreasing support for urban education.

The NEA sought to regain its lost national prestige by portraying the union as racist and authoritarian. Bolstering its own image, the NEA elected its first black president in 1968, and invited a series of prominent black activists to specially advertised national conferences. Meanwhile, AFT leaders faced the job of actually *bargaining* in urban schools, grappling with the issues of community control and decentralization. (The NEA was still officially opposed to collective bargaining.) In 1968 the national union endorsed decentralization but in Oceanhill-Brownsville, New York Local 2 president Albert Shanker took a stand against community control of schools.

Other AFT locals in Detroit, Newark and Chicago did not agree with Shanker's position on community control, but they endorsed the New York teachers' right to strike and fight involuntary teacher transfers (the central issue of the Oceanhill-Brownsville conflict). The NEA was happy to exploit this division in its rival. By the time Shanker won the national AFT presidency in 1974 the Association was publicly calling itself a union.

A close look at NEA policy will reveal that in the fight against racism and for urban public education the NEA historically played a poor second fiddle to the AFT. In fact, the NEA did not completely integrate its chapters until 1974. The AFT willingly suffered the loss of thousands of members back in 1957 when it expelled its remaining segregated locals in the South. In later years, however, the national union has from time to time held positions disagreeable to the CFT, such as the AFT's support of Allan Bakke's "reverse discrimination" case. The CFT passed resolutions and demonstrated *against* the Bakke suit.

Because the AFT is a federation of locals the entire debate over community control in the union was held openly; the disagreements among unionists were often bitter and public. This is the messy strength of union democracy. The CFT and many of the California locals debated the issues as vigorously at the local level as they were debated nationally. California teachers maintained their progressive positions independently from the national organization, and at times have been able to influence the AFT by uniting with other like-minded teachers from around the country. An example of such influence was the galvanizing effect California women had on the AFT in the early 70s.



*1972 Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern welcomed at CFT convention (Ken Lane photo)*

The 1972 CFT convention, addressed by then-AFT president Dave Selden and Democratic Party presidential candidate George McGovern, created a new entity, the CFT Women in Education Committee. Seats on the committee were hotly contested in this heyday of the Women's Liberation movement. The CFT Executive Council appointed Wanda Faust of Poway as its first chairperson; under her leadership the committee (including Marge Stern, Julie Minard, Gretchen Mackler, and Pat Stanyo, among others) held the first CFT Women in Education Conference in the fall, attended by over 150.

The Women's Movement had a major impact on the AFT, reflected in the formation and activism in California of the Women in Education Committee. But the effects were national in scope. Marge Stern, a San Francisco teacher, was the first and most consistent voice for women's issues in the national AFT. In 1970 she organized women (and men) teachers around the country and pressed the national union to create the AFT Women's Rights Committee. Stern is known as the "founding mother" of the teachers union's concern with women's issues in both California and the nation.

With the Women in Education Committee as its conscience, the CFT moved its concerns over sexism into the legislative arena. The Committee, seeking to implement Title IX of the federal Civil Rights Act, called attention to sections of the Education Code relating to

*Henrietta Blackman, second from right, chairs workshop on hiring at 3rd annual statewide conference held by CFT Women in Education Committee, November 1974 (Ken Lane photo)*



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the portrayal of minorities in curriculum and instructional materials, and pushed the CFT to sponsor bills that added women to these Code sections. SB 450, for example, carried by George Moscone in 1973, mandated that all classes had to be offered equally to boys and girls. The CFT also drafted and secured passage in 1975 of a crucial bill carried by Howard Berman providing for maternity leave for teachers.

The Community College Council of the CFT gave organizational shape to the growing numbers of CFT faculty from the community colleges. Los Angeles Community College history teacher Hy Weintraub, president of the Council for much of the decade, worked closely with former AFT vice-president Eddie Irwin on the Council's publication, *The Perspective*, to help bring a coherent statewide identity to community college faculty. Formed in 1971, the CCC devoted considerable energy to support the Peralta court case, which was filed in 1974 to fight for tenure for part-time Community College instructors and establish guidelines for their hiring and retention. Convention resolutions in favor of pro-rata pay and benefits for part-timers were backed up by actions such as the Peralta decision (finally achieved in 1979), demonstrating that CFT was the only organization that cared about these much-exploited teachers.

Community college faculty came to play a greater role in the CFT during the decade as their weight within the organization increased. By 1979, under Weintraub's leadership, the CFT was growing faster than any other community college organization in California. Weintraub hoped that the CCC's gains might encourage the Faculty Association of California Community Colleges (FACCC) to join the CFT. Unfortunately the CCC's longstanding offer of unity was not accepted. That position put forward by the Council, however, demonstrated to community college faculty that the teachers union stood for a united teacher organization, and helped the CFT immensely during organizing drives.

## Collective Bargaining

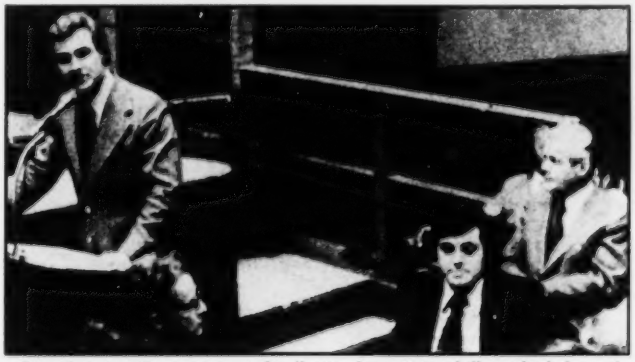
In preparation for collective bargaining the CFT helped fund local organizing efforts. In many cases these were tied to local attempts to subvert the weak "CECs" (Certificated Employee Councils) established by law in 1965. Some explanation of these "meet and defer" councils — as they were derisively known to union activists — is necessary.

In the aftermath of the New York AFT strikes, even CTA leaders recognized that it would only be a matter of time before public sector collective bargaining came to California. By 1965, in order to stave off the inevitable, the Association sponsored the Winton Act, which established "professional negotiations" for teachers. (Gordon Winton, defeated for reelection in 1966, was immediately hired by the California School Administrators Association, which at the time was part of the CTA.) The difference between the Winton Act and the earlier Brown Act was that Winton created "CECs" made up of 5, 7, or 9 teachers from employee organizations.

The only two representatives of education groups to speak against the bill at legislative hearings were the CFT's Marshall Axelrod and Bill Plosser. The CFT opposed the Winton Act because it wasn't collective bargaining, its meet and confer results were not binding on school boards, and because it called for allocation of seats on the councils based on membership, not through secret ballot elections. The CTA's intent was to dominate the councils through their overwhelming numerical superiority.

The effects of the CECs varied from district to district. In some places the councils met, delivered their recommendations to the school board, and things remained the same. In other districts some CEC resolutions were taken seriously. For the CFT, CECs were inadequate in any case because they relied on the goodwill of administrators and school board members. Many CFT locals boycotted the CECs for the first several years, and in some districts the CTA chapters didn't even bother to implement their own law. By the early 70s, however, CFT local leaders, instead of simply scorning the councils as a poor substitute for collective bargaining, began to use the CECs to achieve recognition by their school boards as legitimate teacher representatives. They had found that elections to the CECs could be used as an organizing tool; teachers were asked to join the AFT in order to increase the union's representation on the councils. These were the efforts aided by CFT financial and organizing assistance.

Meanwhile the CFT and its locals continued to struggle to change the Winton Act, and to push for true collective bargaining. In San Francisco union teachers achieved a breakthrough. In 1969 the school board allowed a secret ballot election to determine teacher representation. San Francisco



*State Senator Moscone carried collective bargaining bills at the behest of Raoul Teilhet and the California Labor Federation's Jack Henning*

Federation of Teachers Local 61 won. SFFT president Jim Ballard analyzed the results of the vote against the numerically superior SFCTA. He concluded that the ballot proved the Winton Act wrong to assume that membership numbers translated directly into the will of the teachers.

Each legislative session the CFT introduced a new collective bargaining bill, working closely with other public sector unions to create bargaining for all public employees. Collective bargaining was getting closer: in 1971 the union achieved the first full legislative hearing on the topic. Pressure was now beginning to build for collective bargaining within the CTA, too. Dissatisfied Association members were leaving and joining the union. In 1966 the CFT had 70 locals; by the end of the decade, more than 100. In 1976, the year that the Rodda Act became law providing for teacher collective bargaining in California, the CFT boasted nearly 150 active locals. The CTA officially joined the collective bargaining crusade midway through the 1971 legislative session to support CFT bills carried by Assemblyman Ken Meade and Senator Mervyn Dymally. It reacted just in time to prevent the CFT from overtaking and sweeping it aside in what was becoming floodtide for teacher unionism.

The CTA also suffered from their support in 1971 of the Stull Act. Passed over the fierce opposition of the CFT, the Stull Act demanded that teachers be held accountable through a behavioral goals and objectives approach to teaching. The law sought to turn the classroom into assembly lines, with measurable "productivity". A mountain of paperwork was combined with the threat of negative evaluations for student results over which the teacher had no control. The law also undercut due process rights by eliminating the recommendation from hearing officers to school boards on sufficient cause for dismissal. California teachers were furious.

*Discussion over coffee: Teilhet, Governor Jerry Brown, and CFT Legislative Director Mary Bergan*

Raoul Teilhet appeared on a southern California television program to debate John Stull, and cut the hapless Republican Assemblyman from San Diego County to ribbons. A phone-in vote from the public tallied while the program was on the air showed public opinion in favor of the CFT president's positions. (What actually happened was this: the broadcast was taking place in conservative San Diego County, and the vote probably would have gone against the teachers except that a CFT flyer had warned locals in advance to get their members to ring the phones off the hook at the program.) The CFT made a 16mm film of the program, and circulated copies of the film to teachers' lounges all across the state, publicizing the union's opposition to the bill and the CTA's support of it. The union picked up 5,000 members in less than a year.

The California Labor Federation and the CFT asked Senator George Moscone to carry a collective bargaining bill for teachers in 1973. With the support of United Teachers of Los Angeles and the CTA, he introduced SB 400, which called for repeal of the Winton Act and the creation of comprehensive collective bargaining to replace it. After passing the state senate and assembly, it was vetoed by Governor Reagan in September. A moral victory, this was the first time that a teachers' bargaining bill had made it as far as the Governor's desk. It took the election of Jerry Brown as Governor, committed to collective bargaining for teachers, to tip the balance of forces.

The next year, seeing the writing on the wall, the California School Boards Association proposed what in their view were acceptable parameters for collective bargaining. Teilhet penned a *California Teacher* editorial in April, 1974 responding to the CSBA, entitled "All of the Associations Now Support Some Collective Bargaining for Teachers — What Do We Watch Out for Now?"

> We union teachers did not join the AFT and work for collective bargaining just to get a higher salary, a bigger insurance policy, a longer leave and shorter hours. We wanted some of those things, but we also wanted to secure smaller classes, adequate supplies, better books — a more humane and creative environment for learning. To leave curriculum in the hands of the Board would be to abandon one of AFT's most essential goals. This issue makes imminently [sic] clear that the Board has moved to the point of accepting teachers as employees who have something important to say about how much they earn, but not to the point of accepting teachers as policy makers in schools.

Teilhet had scanned the future accurately. In 1975 Senator Al Rodda, a former AFT local president, introduced SB 160. Trailing behind a comprehensive bargaining bill for all public employees that didn't pass the legislature, SB 160, for K-12 and community college teachers only, moved through both houses and was signed into law by Governor Jerry Brown.

The Rodda Act was not a perfect



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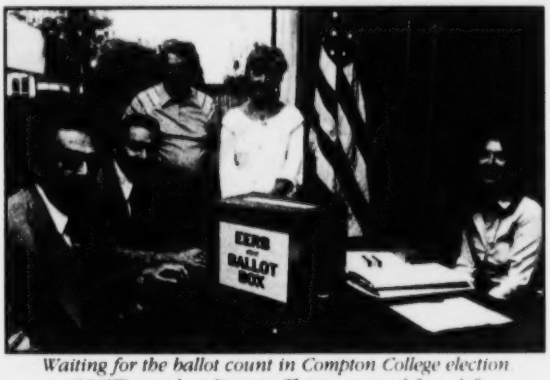
law. For one thing, the CFT didn't like the narrow scope it imposed on what could be bargained. The Winton Act had had extremely broad scope but no mechanism to enforce agreements. The Rodda Act provided the enforcement mechanism but restricted the scope of bargaining to wages and benefits, hours, and working conditions.

Worse, it left the universities out in the cold, a fact decidedly unappealing to the several thousand member strong UPC (United Professors of California), the state university section of the CFT. After an emergency State Council meeting in August, 1975, the CFT reluctantly supported the bill, since it did not appear likely that anything better could be passed. Despite its shortcomings, passage of the Rodda Act represented a signal victory for the organization that had, on principle, introduced teacher collective bargaining bills into legislative sessions time and time again since 1953.



*Waiting for the ballot count in Compton College election. CCCFT president Darwin Thorpe, second from left*

At mid-decade in the 1970s the AFT was the fastest-growing union in the country. In California the numbers kept pace as the CFT approached 30,000 members. Unfortunately the state union wasn't quite big enough to take full advantage of the Rodda Act. The CTA still had more than five times as many members. Thousands of CTA teachers were undoubtedly sympathetic to the union, but stayed with the Association for its insurance and financial programs.

For practical and ideological reasons the AFT, under the leadership of David Selden (AFT president 1968-74) proposed merger to the NEA and held discussions in the early 70s, at national, state and local levels. A united organization would have meant an immeasurable gain in strength for teachers everywhere; it would have become the largest union in America. The NEA had moved a long way towards becoming a union, accepting collective bargaining and strikes. National AFT-NEA talks collapsed in 1974, however, partly over the question of labor affiliation, one issue on which the NEA remained adamnantly "professional." While local merger talks continued, few Association chapters were willing to buck their national organization's position, although not for lack of local AFT offers. The CFT's standing offer of unity to the CTA provided a vision of the promised land for California teachers throughout the decade, one which served the CFT well in its struggle for their hearts and minds.

At about the same time, back in the trenches (and almost by accident), the CFT nearly managed to affiliate an entire chunk of the CTA. In 1972 the CTA raised its dues to its several geographical sections around the state, causing a rebellion in southern California led by UTLA's Executive Director Don Baer. CFT and UTLA leadership met with CTA chapters from San Diego to Santa Barbara. The rebel CTA chapters decided to call themselves UTAC (United Teachers Association of California), wrote up articles of confederation, and developed a timeline with arrangements to join CFT after two years of independent existence. By refusing to pay the new dues to CTA, UTLA brought NEA into the picture. The NEA spent a fortune setting up a new chapter in Los Angeles, CTA-LA; it never gained more than 800 members. The rebellion collapsed when the NEA, realizing the futility of its dual union strategy, offered in essence to pay off UTLA's debt (about a million dollars). UTLA pulled out of UTAC, rejoined CTA, and the other chapters followed suit.

The California collective bargaining law took effect at the beginning of 1976. The first election for an exclusive representative bargaining agent was held in spring in the Tamalpais school district. The AFT won. In the next few years the union won dozens of local election victories, including San Francisco and several other large districts. But in many districts the AFT lost, including some of the Federation's oldest and most active locals: Sacramento, Richmond, Oakland and San Diego. In some places the union reverted to its role as gadfly of the larger Association. In others, union activists gave up their charter, joined the local Association chapter and tried to transform it into a real union from within. In still other districts the AFT survived, thrived on Association mistakes and decertified the local chapter within a year or two.

But one result of the coming of collective bargaining was that in just over a year the CFT shrunk by nearly one third. Membership plunged in districts after AFT lost the elections; where some locals with 500 members existed in 1975, by 1980 there remained but a handful of scrapbooks. The CFT was, ironically for a union that had struggled so long for the opportunity, a victim to its own premature success. Given its momentum, if another few years had passed before collective bargaining was legalized, the CFT might well have been in a better position to challenge the CTA for statewide dominance. The Association lost more members than the CFT did, but they had more to start with; the statewide numbers game was essentially over by the close of the 70s.

Still, the CFT's achievement was impressive. With less than one fifth the



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membership of the CTA when collective bargaining became legal, the Federation's locals garnered almost 45% of the total votes cast statewide for the two organizations. In many districts the AFT lost by an eyelash. The moral victory — and pressure placed on the CTA to function like a real union — was considerable.

As jurisdictional lines fell into place for teacher representation, the CFT began the hard work of helping locals to negotiate and enforce contracts. The union held training workshops for local activists and officers, and hired more statewide field representatives to service locals. Practically all of these were CFT teacher-activists, in keeping with the union's grassroots philosophy. For example, the Community College Council had hired San Mateo Community College Federation president Pat Manning a few years earlier to lead school budget analysis workshops and organize. The CFT hired local activists Chuck Caniff, Mary Bergan, Clarence Boukas and Larry Bordan from its own ranks in the early 70s; in 1978 Marian Hull, Tom Martin and Julie Minard were added to the staff.

The union also started to consider other organizing opportunities. In 1972 para-professionals in the San Francisco Unified School District had approached the union regarding affiliation. In 1977 they became the first non-teacher bargaining unit within the CFT after the national AFT ruled that educational workers other than teachers could be admitted. That same year the NEA voted *not* to admit paraprofessionals as full voting members, while maintaining those rights for principals. (The NEA reversed that decision two years later.) Over the next several years many more classified units elected the AFT their bargaining agent.

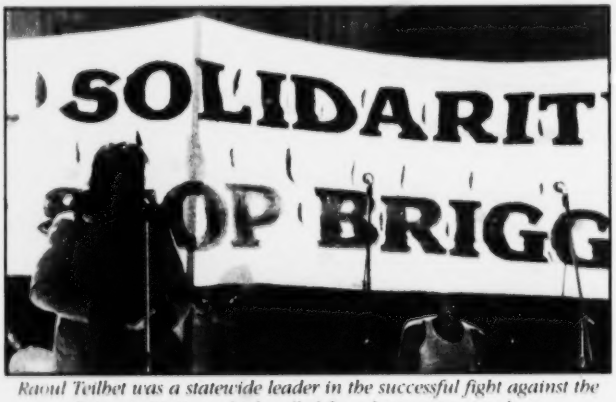
A larger issue than how to negotiate and whom to organize soon overtook the union, teachers, public employees and the general public. In January 1978 *California Teacher* warned CFT's membership about Proposition 13, the property-tax cutting initiative placed on the ballot by right wing populists Howard Jarvis and Paul Gann: "If passed, it would decimate the current system for raising money for public schools and other city/county services that are substantially dependent for a significant amount of their revenue on the property tax." SB 90, in 1972, had already limited school revenues based on property taxes; so schools hadn't gained anyway from the higher property tax revenues received by the state from 1972-78. The union joined in a coalition with the California Labor Federation, the CTA and a myriad of other organizations to oppose the initiative. Throughout the year the CFT's presses worked overtime to educate teachers about the devastating effects on education and other social services that would be caused by Prop 13. The CFT contributed money — the locals raised over $135,000 — and grassroots teacher power to defeat the initiative, to no avail.

Passage of Proposition 13 meant that public sector collective bargaining in California faced extraordinary problems just as it was getting off the ground. In addition to severely curtailing government services and laying off thousands of public employees, Prop 13 managed to change the rules of the new arrangement in a fundamental way. The union's assumption had been that local school boards would continue to exercise the ability to generate local revenue through taxes. Proposition 13 shifted nearly the entire school funding mechanism to the state. This shift undercut collective bargaining's promise of shared governance through co-determination of the allocation of resources by board and union. School district money was now fixed by the state, leaving little room for local flexibility at the money end of bargaining.

Prop 13 gave school boards a chance to plead poverty and uncertainty even if their coffers were full. Since Prop 13 and collective bargaining arrived simultaneously, it confused many teachers, causing some of them to blame their deteriorating conditions on collective bargaining, not Prop 13. And the more cynical school board members and administrators adroitly fanned that flame.

In one narrow respect the whole tax-revolt nightmare may have been a blessing in disguise for fledgling union negotiators; it set them down in a political pressure cooker, out of which they emerged as far more sophisticated bargainers than they might otherwise have become so quickly.

The new situation tightened the bonds between the CFT and its locals. For the first several decades of its existence the CFT had lived by the simple maxim that the statewide union was only as strong as its locals. In the 60s, with the explosive growth in membership and consequent strengthening of the CFT, locals grudgingly recognized the necessary coordinating role of the CFT. After Prop 13, teachers were much more directly dependent on Sacramento for their salaries, and had to rely on




*Raoul Teilhet was a statewide leader in the successful fight against the Briggs initiative, which called for a ban on gay teachers.*

statewide political action to a far greater degree than before.

In the midst of the turmoil generated by Proposition 13 two important events occurred which also pointed toward the next decade. In April 1978 the Pajaro Valley Federation of Teachers in Watsonville "dis-elected" the Association chapter, winning the opening round in a struggle that continues to this day between CFT and CTA. This was the first decertification of a previously elected bargaining agent in California. (If only unity talks had prevailed!) By the end of the decade the CFT had won several more decertification elections, and bargained for school employees in over 50 districts.

In September 1978 Governor Brown, making good on a promise to the CFT, signed AB 1091, which authorized employees of the state university and UC systems to engage in collective bargaining. UPC, which represented a plurality among state university faculty, and which had been (in different organizational forms) for nearly twenty years a vocal and active section of the CFT, began to prepare for the coming struggle. In fall of 1979, on the first day after the new law went into effect, UPC filed a petition for representation signed by over 50% of the unit. The election, however, would not be held until 1982.

The final year of the decade was pockmarked by the predicted effects of Prop 13. All across the state school districts were laying off employees, teachers and classified, occasionally even administrators. One of the hardest-hit cities was San Francisco, which laid off a staggering 1,200 staff. In response the SFFT, teachers and paraprofessionals, went out on a strike that lasted six weeks and resulted in the rehiring of over 700 of the laid-off employees. But it was a pyrrhic victory. Two years later, strike-weary teachers decertified Local 61 as bargaining agent. While maintaining a large and active membership, the local remained in non-bargaining agent status for the next 8 years. The local — and the CFT — learned an important lesson about the negative consequences of overly-aggressive leadership and too many strikes bunched together in too few years.

Meanwhile, just 15 miles south of San Francisco, AFT Local 1481, representing the Jefferson Union High School District teachers and classified, hit the bricks and stayed out for 44 days, protesting teacher layoffs and contract takebacks in the longest and most bitter school strike in the state's history. In the middle of the strike the local CTA chapter, adding insult to injury, reversed an unspoken agreement between NEA and AFT to respect each other's picket lines, crossed the lines, and filed a decertification petition. Despite the betrayal, the union won back all the jobs and successfully defended the contract. The CTA chapter withdrew its petition.

As the 70s ended the landscape of teacher unionism in California had been irrevocably transformed. The CFT, after hitting a high of 30,000 members and plunging down to 20,000, steadily recovered, gaining back half of the loss during the 'election years' of the last third of the decade. The union had maintained its political philosophy to the left of the association and used that position as a magnet to break away the CTA's progressives. The CFT's political course, as demonstrated in such action as staunch defense of minorities (against the Briggs anti-gay initiative and the "reverse-discrimination" Bakke suit) and helping teachers in trouble, coupled with solid footing on collective bargaining, helped hold the bulk of the membership of the union on board as political waters grew rough. CFT membership was for many activists a home of sorts, where the ideals of the 1960s social movements still shone brightly even as the country began its descent into the 80s and the accompanying partial eclipse of political reason.

# 1980s

## Teacher Unionism Comes of Age

The social setting for teacher unionism in the 1980s resembles its early years in the 1920s. Despite a superficial prosperity, the gap between the haves and the have-nots widened, and previous social commitments to helping people on the bottom of society were eroded by those in power. Appeals to free market ideologies allowed corporate interests to wield uncontrolled command over the rest of society. Under the benign gaze of Coolidge-Hoover/Reagan-Bush, regulatory agencies were undermined or abolished; personal freedoms lost ground; corruption in high places went unpunished; and organized labor weakened before political and economic attacks. Once more, unions have been forced onto the defensive; institutional mechanisms forged by workers' struggles across half a century to ensure some groundrules for cooperation through collective bargaining (National Labor Relations Board, Occupational Safety and Health Administration, Public Employee Relations Board) have been subverted by politicians and bureaucrats serving corporate power.

If the Reagan years have not been kind to organized labor, civil liberties and education, it is all the more remarkable that teacher unionism has managed not just to survive but to thrive. One of the few bright spots for labor in the 70s and 80s, in fact, has been public sector organizing, not least with a half million teachers joining labor through the AFT since 1960. Consequently, the growth pains for the CFT have been of a different magnitude than in the 20s or even the 50s: no one has had to worry that teacher unions might be driven out of existence. But with the settling of the question of collective bargaining, long-deferred problems have come to occupy center stage. In some respects the most critical of these is the challenge to define teaching — finally — as a profession.

Collective bargaining elections dwindled in frequency following the 'election years' immediately after passage of the Rodda Act. Still, several important elections took place. In 1982 the CFT suffered a devastating defeat when UPC, against the combined opposition of CTA, AAUP (American Association of University Professors) and CSEA (California State Employees Association) lost the California State University election by a total of 39 votes in a bargaining unit of 19,000 statewide. What these organizations shared, in the merged CFA (California Faculty Association) was an aversion to AFL-CIO affiliation, and they played this card heavily throughout the campaign. All the more ironic that, in order to prevent a decertification campaign by the still-formidable UPC, CFA affiliated directly (through merger of CSEA with another AFL-CIO union, the Service Employees) with the California Labor Federation. On this level the CFT lost the war, but achieved a long-sought objective: to affiliate the professors of the state university system with organized labor. While the Academic Professional unit (fifteen hundred employees) chose AFT in a separate election, the CFT ended up losing its several thousand UPC members.

The CFT made headway in another realm of higher education the following year. In 1983 the librarians at the University of California chose the University Council/AFT as their exclusive bargaining agent; and in 1984 non-senate faculty at UC also elected the UC/AFT. The addition of these two statewide bargaining units brought full union representation to all levels of public education in California. The Council and its constituent locals had represented UC employees in a non-bargaining agent status since 1963. Although several hundred sympathetic full-time professors continue to belong to AFT anyway, senate faculty at UC remain outside the collective bargaining framework. With that exception, the 80s witnessed the institutionalization of

collective bargaining in virtually all sectors of public education in California; and AFT locals achieved bargaining rights for at least one major unit in each sector.

During the implementation of collective bargaining the CFT gradually increased its attention to professional issues. This did not represent a change of opinion for the organization. The CFT's position through the years on professional issues held firm to a single principle: that until the basic legal and contractual protections were in place for teachers no one could speak seriously of teaching as a profession.

Short shrift has been given in these pages to all that the CFT accomplished for the field of teaching itself, for innovative pedagogy, and the creation of sound educational theory and practice. Barely mentioned are the myriad QuEST (Quality Educational Standards in Teaching) conferences organized and run by the CFT and its locals for the past 25 years for the teachers of California. Even before QuEST, in the early 60s the CFT established its Curriculum Councils, which helped inspire the national AFT to create QuEST. Little attention has been drawn here to the innumerable articles devoted to these topics in the CFT's publications, and written by CFT members for academic journals in dozens of disciplines. Even as the fierce picket line, legal and legislative battles were being waged for teacher rights, the work of a profession in process of formation was carried forward by the union.

Meanwhile the early 80s heard a chorus of conservative voices call for schools to go "back to basics", blaming variously teacher unions, contemporary curricula and lax standards for declining test scores and high dropout rates. Republican administrations decried the state of the schools, but slashed education budgets, since, according to New Right wisdom, "throwing money at them" was part of the problem in the first place. The mobilization against public education, while seriously damaging the ability of teachers to teach and students to learn, did have one positive outcome: it helped focus public attention on the plight of the American education system, and in this way provided an opening for a re-examination of the role of teachers. Fortunately the discussion occurred at an historic moment when teachers could participate as equals in the debate, thanks to the growth of teacher power through their unions. As a result, in much the same way as the struggles for teacher rights and collective bargaining could be said to have defined the 60s and 70s for the CFT, the closely related issues of achieving professionalism and education reform have shaped the events of the most recent decade.

Working to tear down the artificial barriers between "bargainable issues" and other professional matters, the national AFT and the CFT in California have been able to reframe the education reform discussion in ways that include teachers and paraprofessionals as decision-making partners. National task forces (such as the Carnegie Commission) and state bodies (like the Joint Legislative Committee to Review the Master Plan for Education) examining education reform issues were careful to invite the full participation of teacher union representatives. Proposals for more rigorous entry standards and professional certification procedures have been coupled with acknowledgement of the need for higher pay and more control by teachers over the learning environment. In this way the ideological assault of the New Right against teacher power and public education has been blunted and partly turned around.

A significant reason for the successes in this war for education waged in the schools, the media and government is the new-found unity being forged between teachers and their co-workers in public education. One of the fastest-growing sectors of the AFT in this period is its paraprofessional group, several thousand of which live and work in California. Conscious of the changing nature of the CFT, and concerned that its classified members possess the democratic tools to participate fully within the union, the union created the Council of Classified Employees in 1982.

An implication of this change is that the quest for teacher professionalism has to take into account non-teachers. This is, at first sight, a paradox: it is through the transformation of an AFL craft union into a CIO-style industrial union that the movement towards professionalism is taking place. Recall that in the late 1930s the central debate raging in the national AFT was whether to remain in the AFL or join the newly-formed CIO. In the 80s, belonging to the united AFL-CIO, the teachers union recognizes that professional development, career ladders, and the restructuring of the classroom involve both teachers and paras. The union is making sure, through legislation and contract language, that all its members move to-

*Terry Wyatt, officer of Toledo Federation of Teachers, speaks on school reform at CFT QuEST conference, 1988*

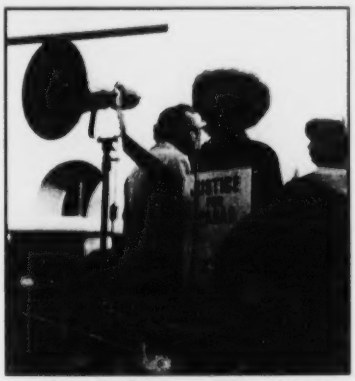
gether towards change.

All of these changes have been transpiring within an overarching context of fiscal uncertainty. School finance problems didn't begin with Proposition 13. In 1971 SB 90 — opposed by the CFT alone among education organizations — set a limit on the amount of tax money that could go to education. This was the first blow to public education funding in a long, unequal brawl, during which Prop 13 was merely the most effective blunt instrument. The CFT, and even a united front of teacher organizations, could not fight back without assistance.

After Proposition 13 the new political reality necessitated formation of close working alliances between erstwhile opponents in the legislative arena. This was especially urgent since the economic agenda of the New Right's assault on schooling, served by the Governor of California and a former Governor in the White House, was closely linked to ideological attacks on all public services. The CFT joined in broad coalitions with public employee unions and education groups to strategize and act to defeat the continuing stream of regressive tax legislation and to create and support legislation and ballot initiative petitions seeking to equitably fund education.

Shortly after taking office, Republican Governor Deukmejian delivered a rote "back to basics" speech, justifying his inadequate education budget. In a *California Teacher* editorial in January 1983, Teilhet responded to Deukmejian by pointing out the CFT is "...also committed to the "Back to Basics" movement but we possibly have a different definition of what is 'basic' to quality public education." He went on to list such 'basics' as lower class sizes, better school management, allowing teachers to teach instead of act as security guards, appropriate allocations for learning materials, etc. He concluded, "The Governor has forgotten another one of the basics: society will get the schools it pays for."

The Governor's forgetting took the form in 1983 of cutting nearly a quarter billion dollars from the community college budget — approximately one sixth of the total. As a result of compromises worked out by a coalition including the CFT, $100 million was restored, but at the cost of imposition of $50 tuition in the formerly free system. The Governor made clear his intent to balance the budget on the backs of the workers, minorities and poor students who comprise a majority of the community college student population. Robert Gabriner, who just the month before was elected to replace Virginia Mulrooney as Community College Council president, received a baptism of fire, leading the CFT's intense lobbying efforts in January of 1984 to restore funding. The CFT opposed tuition until the bitter end, and the reason why became clear immediately upon its implementation: enrollment of students in community college campuses situated in working class and minority districts plummeted.



*Gloria Washington, SFFT activist at rally in front of school district office*

By mid-decade the Community College Council represented a majority of CFT membership. The Council matured, having grown from a group of locals trading war stories at its inception to a major player in the community college system. As with the CFT fifteen years earlier, the Council and its membership had expanded to the point where it needed a full-time president for effective leadership. In 1983 Gabriner became the Council's first paid president.

In another of the continuing battles against anti-public services initiatives during the decade, the CFT joined with other public employee unions in 1984 to defeat Proposition 36, written by Prop 13 co-author Howard Jarvis. This would have eliminated billions of dollars in tax revenues to the state, mostly from the wealthy, including large amounts for schools. The coalition achieved its success through a dawning recognition on the part of significant segments of the public that Prop 13 may not have been worth it. A similar sensibility pervaded the streets of San Francisco in July 1984 on the eve of the Democratic Party convention, when teachers marched with their union brothers and sisters in a massive labor parade of 100,000, protesting the effects of four years of Reaganism on working people. The CFT was well-represented by Bay Area locals and others who came from as far away as San Diego. Raoul Teilhet and AFT president Albert Shanker marched among the teachers' union contingent.

Teilhet stepped down at the 1985 CFT convention after leading the union for 17 years, the longest tenure of any CFT president. He was remarkably suited to guide the organization through its period of greatest change and growth — a political leader in politicized times, and a dedicated organizer able to help charter dozens of locals. He oversaw the development of a modern union field staff, and hired and worked with the CFT's legislative advocate in Sacramento, Mary Bergan, who over the years has been consistently voted the top lobbyist in education by her peers. As the first teacher elected a vice-president of the state AFL-CIO, Teilhet strengthened the ties between the CFT and the labor movement, ensuring that when the CFT speaks, it speaks with the voice of nearly two million AFL-CIO members in California. He led the union through much of its 'ACLU for teachers' period, the fight for collective bargaining, the in-



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tense bargaining agent election campaigns, and into the education reform era. He was — and as the current Administrative Director of the CFT, remains — enormously popular with the union membership. No members called him "Mr. Teilhet", or if they did they learned quickly; he is simply "Raoul", the president who was always there on the picket line or testifying on behalf of teachers in courtrooms or legislative hearings.

The CFT leaders who were worried about the organization becoming like the bureaucratic, remote CTA when Teilhet transformed the presidency into a full-time position voiced a legitimate concern, one that needs to be monitored by every union continuously. When a strong leader heads an organization the possibility always exists for undemocratic practices to creep in and take root. But Teilhet's presidency demonstrated that in this case the worry was groundless. A hallmark of the CFT is that opposition groups have always had access to convention microphones and the freedom to organize for their positions; in other words, the union has been and remains a model of union democracy. Teilhet served that spirit well, understanding the impossibility of fighting for social justice without an organization run according to the same principles itself.

*CFT president Miles Myers speaks at UC Berkeley anti-apartheid rally, 1985*

It was for these ideals that his membership kept electing him president for 17 years. As the April 1985 *Community College Perspective* reported in its article covering Teilhet's emotional farewell speech,

> Teilhet reminded convention delegates of the roots of their organization: frustrated classroom teachers. Its opponents, he said, are equally clear: management, conservatism, poverty and racism. The crowd gave a standing ovation and many reached for their handkerchiefs as he ended his remarks by recalling both the pride and humility he had felt over the years each time he said: "I am Raoul Teilhet, President of the California Federation of Teachers."

The convention elected a new president, Miles Myers, the CFT's senior vice-president under Teilhet. In Myers the CFT once more found a president well-equipped to steer the union into yet another period of transformation: the present era, when full professionalization is on the agenda at last. Myers began teaching in the Oakland School District in the late 50s. Serving in practically every seat on the Executive Board of Local 771, he became a vice-president of the CFT in the late 60s. In 1971 he became the CFT's representative in Sacramento during the crucial legislative session when CTA switched its position to favor collective bargaining, and the CFT stood alone against the Stull Act. He edited *California Teacher* for 15 years, from 1970 until his election as president.

Despite his activist history — or perhaps because of it — Myers is at heart a scholar. Like Ben Rust before him he has published numerous articles and books on teaching, including a respected monograph on writing assessment procedures, and a model for achieving professional authority for teachers, *The Teacher Researcher: How to Study Writing in the Classroom*. He also served as the Administrative Director of the Bay Area Writing Project at UC Berkeley, and is at home equally in the labor movement and his academic organization, California Association of Teachers of English. As an activist-scholar, Myers' qualifications provide him with an appropriate platform from which to lead the union's participation in the debates over professionalization and education reform.

The national AFT has given Myers alternative governance models to set before the membership of the CFT and other interested parties. The Toledo Federation of Teachers, for instance, has established a program for guiding the professional growth of "interns", probationary teachers working closely with consulting teachers. The interns are subject to the oversight of a Review Board comprised of 5 union teachers and 4 administrators, to whom the consulting teachers report. Emphasis is placed on helping beginning teachers learn how the system works and giving them proper levels of material support and professional guidance by their more experienced colleagues. Another Toledo program developed a means for intervening when a non-probationary teacher is in serious trouble; again, the emphasis is on collegial assistance under union protection. Both programs seek to empower teachers through professional control of their own ranks. The CFT brought Toledo Federation of Teachers officer Terry Wyatt to speak at QuEST conferences and CFT conventions.

The union has also hosted presentations by Adam Urbanski, president of the Rochester, NY Federation. In a district where over half the students come from below the poverty line, where drugs and violence have reached such epidemic proportions that teachers no longer suspend students for "mere possession of a weapon", the union and superintendent worked together to create a new structure. Teachers received higher pay and were released from non-teaching duties and excessive paperwork, in exchange for increased responsibilities for instruction and professional leadership.

The Rochester union and district

created a career path with four steps: intern teacher, resident teacher, professional teacher and lead teacher. In Rochester lead teachers take the most difficult class assignments and assist interns. To encourage them to remain within the teaching ranks, lead teachers are forbidden to take administrative jobs during their tenure and for two years afterward. Teachers in Rochester also have taken on the responsibility to assess and offer assistance to poorly performing teachers.

In California in the mid-80s it was time to review the state's Master Plan for Higher Education, last overhauled in 1960. The CFT sent leaders and rank and file members to testify before the Master Plan Commission on the condition of education and what to do about it. One of the first areas examined, the Community Colleges, ended with its mission essentially reaffirmed, but with significant changes recommended by the Joint Legislative Committee to Review the Master Plan. Included in these were an increase in funding, greater faculty involvement in governance, professional development for faculty and staff, and steps toward redressing the system-wide exploitation of part-time instructors.

The Community College Council of the CFT, led by Council President Robert Gabriner, played an important role in gaining these results, and in the ultimate passage of legislation based on the Joint Committee's omnibus legislative package, AB 1725. Gabriner chaired the Californians for Community Colleges coalition, consisting of all major community college groups, which steered the Commission and Joint Committee toward their conclusions.

AB 1725 is a pathbreaking piece of legislation. For the first time, a state has pledged to enlarge its full-time faculty by converting part-timers to full-time positions, and to commit funding to the process. AB 1725 sets Affirmative Action goals and allocates the money to achieve them. The bill also begins to correct the chronic underfunding of the community colleges. It is an achievement of which the CFT can be proud.

Local initiatives coordinated by the CFT during the 80s complemented and extended the work achieved at the state legislative level. Perhaps the most important foray into uncharted terrain by the CFT was the establishment of "Educational Policy Trust Agreements" in a number of school districts in 1987 and 1988. Meant to give faculty and administrators a mechanism by which to grapple with problems outside the scope of the collective bargaining law, the idea of Trust Agreements emerged from the report of yet another education reform commission, the privately-funded California Commission on the Teaching Profession, or "Commons Commission", named after its chair Dorman Commons. Its 1985 report, *Who Will Teach Our Children?*, recommended 27 specific changes in order to make education more effective for students and the field more attractive for people choosing careers. One of these was the establishment of Trust Agreements.

Inititally suspicious that the proposal signalled an administrative intent to return to the discredited 'meet and confer' model of Winton Act days, Miles Myers became an advocate of the Trust Agreement process after intensive discussions with its originator, Dr. Charles Kerchner of the Claremont Graduate School of Education. In March of 1987 the Petaluma Federation of Teachers, Local 1881, signed the first Trust Agreement in California after protracted negotiations, providing for a major staff development in-service program. The following year the CFT and the California School Boards Association, in a nationwide first, worked together with local districts to create six new Trust Agreement programs. A $90,000 grant from a private foundation supported the project. At a news conference in Sacramento announcing the arrangement in October Myers said that "...this program is not an alternative to collective bargaining but a process enabling school management and union representatives to learn to work together as colleagues to improve instruction for students." He also noted that "A key element of professionalizing teaching involves increasing teachers' decision-making authority and developing institutional structures to increase collegial relationships among teachers, and between teachers and management." Still in its infancy, the Trust Agreement concept harkens back to the 1925 AFT convention call for teacher councils in school governance. Trust Agreements may prove to be California's unique contribution to national teacher empowerment and educational reform.

At the same time as the CFT pursued new directions for public education it continued to carry out its habitual activities on behalf of educational employee rights, supporting local collective bargaining responsibilities, and participating in statewide coalitions for adequate funding for schools and other public services.

*CFT members were part of a delegation to the El Salvador teachers' union conference in San Salvador, 1985 (Rodger Scott photo)*



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Nor has the union abandoned its longstanding support for movements for social justice. The CFT invited El Salvadorean teacher unionists to speak at the 1986 convention. At the 1987 convention, resolutions were passed against US support for the Nicaraguan Contras and xenophobic "English-only" initiatives. In 1988 CFT members gathered thousands of signatures in solidarity with its union brothers and sisters in the private sector for the restoration of California's Occupational Safety and Health Administration, far more effective than its federal equivalent in protecting workers from job-related death, disease and injury. Eliminated by Governor Deukmejian with a stroke of the pen, Cal-OSHA is today back in operation, thanks to a successful campaign mounted by the union coalition through the ballot initiative process.

The CFT also contributed money, effective lobbying and grassroots local petition signature gathering to the coalition efforts to lift the regressive Gann state spending limit and put a school funding initiative on the ballot in 1988. As one of the four dozen organizations making up Californians for Quality Government, the CFT helped gather over one million signatures to qualify the Gann Limit Revision proposition for the ballot in June. The voters failed to pass the Revision. They did, however, vote Proposition 98, initiated by CTA and supported by CFT, into law in November, ushering in what may be a new era of stable funding for the state public education system.

The California Federation of Teachers has consistently fought for public education, and in most respects has worked on the farthest frontiers of educational change. From its inception it fought for the rights of teachers when no one else did. The first tenure law, passed in 1921, was supported by the CFT and the labor movement, and opposed by virtually every other education organization. In an age when women teachers were fired for the temerity of following their own taste in fashion, staying out past eight in the evenings or getting married, the CFT was so radical as to call for application of the constitutional rights of US citizens to women teachers, too. Basic teacher rights law was written by CFT legal cases from the 50s through the 70s with the selfless actions of scores of courageous teachers willing to put their careers on the line for principle, often against the tide of public opinion and the wishes of their "professional" organizations. A half-century before the California legislature passed a collective bargaining law for teachers, the CFT believed it necessary; twenty years before the CTA agreed, the CFT convinced legislators to present the first collective bargaining bill.

*UTLA strike rally, May, 1989 (Tom LaBarbera photo)*

The AFT and the CFT alongside it have reshaped public debate over the direction of education. As long ago as the 1920s the union called for teacher control over educational policymaking. Today this type of education reform is on the verge of becoming reality, not over the bodies of the people in the classroom but with the union working to ensure that quality education and the empowerment of teachers and paras — in short, professionalization — will result from the process. Trust Agreements are but one of the latest contributions of the CFT to improve the quality of life for the CFT membership and the effectiveness of education for students.

As the California Federation of Teachers approaches the last decade of the twentieth century it is still winning victories for teachers, paraprofessionals, and other public employees. The CFT now boasts 32,000 dues-paying members, the largest membership it has ever served; another 25,000 people, not yet members,work under its contracts. In spring of 1989 it rejoiced at two electrifying events. Appropriately enough these took place in the two cities that have figured most prominently, north and south, in the story of the union: San Francisco and Los Angeles.

In San Francisco teachers voted for the return to collective bargaining agent status of the CFT's oldest active local, the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, one of the charter locals of the statewide Federation. The local ran on a campaign of merger with the local Association and for restructuring the city's schools. The president of SFFT Local 61, Joan Marie Shelley, reaffirmed in her victory speech her call for unity of the Federation and Association in San Francisco and in all of California.

In Los Angeles, a powerful model of what can be achieved by a united teachers union was demonstrated in May by UTLA in its extraordinarily successful two-week strike for higher pay and school-site decision-making councils. Led by UTLA president (and AFT member) Wayne Johnson and Local 1021's president Marvin Katz, twenty four thousand teachers walked picket lines, demonstrated and voted together to reject one offer and ratify another. It was an impressive display of teacher power, combining traditional bread and butter issues with a visionary proposal for democratic participation in worksite governance. These two victories for the L.A. teachers add up to a milestone on the road to reconstructing teaching as a profession.

Let that image close our narrative for now, and serve as a starting place for the struggles yet to come.

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# San Francisco Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 61
## Chartered 1919

**Pre-World War II**

Long regarded as a good labor town, San Francisco earned that reputation with the success of the General Strike in July of 1934 and the subsequent growth of blue-collar unionism. Chartered by the AFT in 1919, San Francisco Local 61 has enjoyed the strong support of the Labor Council and the State Federation of Labor, though organizing white-collars into unions has never been easy, even in San Francisco. The Local has also played an important role in the labor movement.

Like other unions, Local 61 has been affected by two, not always compatible, influences: ideological-unionism and bread-and-butter pragmatism. As with many pre-World-War II organizations, the Communist issue rose to plague the union movement. Unlike a number of locals, San Francisco survived the red-baiting of fifteen years of hysterical anti-Communism. Later, and forthrightly, the California Labor Federation and the teachers' union went on to oppose McCarthyism and the witch hunts of the House Un-American Activities Committee, but failed to block a loyalty oath requirement for teachers in the 1950s.

Along with the rest of organized Labor, Local 61 engaged actively in the Civil Rights struggles of the '60s and has routinely supported AFL-CIO calls to boycott anti-labor products, culminating in strong support of Cesar Chavez's efforts to organize farm workers in the '60s and '70s.

This liberal bias in political activism derives from the progressive social agenda of the New Deal, as does its bread-and-butter orientation. The New Deal promoted decent housing, clothing, and shelter for everyone at the same time it was promoting a strong labor movement, as reflected in such legislation as the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

With its ideological base established early, 61 has been able to devote its recent attention to educational issues along with practical struggles for decent wages, reasonable class sizes, and a safe, productive teaching-and learning-environment.

**Post-World War II**

The modern Local dates from 1949 when a post-war crop of teachers, many of them World War II veterans fresh from college, began to see the AFT as a force for good in education and politics. As early as 1950, the Local had grown to 200 members and was growing steadily. Throughout the decade of the '50s Local 61 met or exceeded its membership quota every year. With the entry of large numbers of men to the profession, the drive was on to make teaching a family-sustaining occupation, where before, as with many women-dominated occupations, inferior pay and status prevailed, discouraging permanence in the teaching force and dampening pride in the profession.

Succeeding President Maurice Power, a junior college teacher, President Arthur Stewart, a hard-driving shop teacher, began to give modern shape to the Local with his militancy and talent for translating ideas into programs of action.

By 1956, when Dan Jackson, a junior high school history teacher, replaced Stewart as President, the Local was ready to embark upon a several-pronged program: (1) to begin to end the practice of dual-membership, whereby a teacher joined the CTA for insurance and the union for forceful representation, (2) seriously to challenge a complacent, administrator-run CTA for dominance, (3) to take strong leadership in the fight for decent salaries, (4) to commit San Francisco to a complete curriculum overhaul (5) and to develop strong, forceful, and effective grievance procedures to assist all teachers, regardless of affiliation.

During Dan Jackson's tenure as President (1956-1965), the Local settled into its first office—a low-ceilinged, smoke-filled basement at 146 Parnassus Avenue. A Credit Union was put together by Dan O'Brien. The Local's mimeographed newsletter, "The Reporter," became a feisty, aggressive alternative to the CTA's mushy house organ. In that post-Sputnik era, the union won an impressive victory when it forced major revisions in a lax curriculum over the opposition of the Superintendent and the CTA. In 1959, with a budget of $14,000, the union could look realistically toward hiring a full-time president and staff.

**The 1960s**

As with other AFT Locals, the 1960s were a period of rapid growth for Local 61. In 1960, the Local pushed through a strong discipline code, reinforcing the notion that the AFT was a no-nonsense, completely teacher-oriented, teacher-service organization.

Ignoring the CTA's concern for administrator salaries, Howard Rote and Dwight Sandifur developed elaborately-researched salary proposals exclusively for teachers. This approach, developed by State President Ben Rust to define the union's differences with the CTA on salaries, greatly impressed the School Board and the teachers.

At the end of a one-day demonstration strike in 1968, the union had won not only significant salary improvements but a district-paid dental plan and a class-size limit to be achieved by the affirmative action hiring of 300 new teachers, so that, by the end of the decade, with strong backing from Labor, the local school board was finally forced to reckon seriously with a united, mili-

tant force of AFT teachers.

**The 1970s**

The great issue of the decade was, of course, the union's collective bargaining drive. After the State Legislature passed the CFT-sponsored Collective Bargaining legislation, Local 61 won the election in 1977.

Leading up to that election, presidents Dan Jackson, then Al Tapson (1965-1967), then James Ballard (1967-1984) worked hard to build membership, including the formation of a chapter of paraprofessionals in 1972, establish a larger office, hire more staff, and develop a set of membership-drafted demands in preparation for becoming the collective bargaining agent.

But Local 61 had to pioneer the process in Northern California, and the gains did not come without pains. The Local had previously voted full, largely-successful, strikes in 1971 and 1974—before collective bargaining. In 1979 the District, using Proposition 13 as an excuse to discredit the union with the teachers, undertook massive layoffs of some 1,200. Responding to that devastating blow, Local 61 had no option but to strike to force the school district to re-hire them.

That bitter, 6-week strike proved to be terribly costly to the teachers and the union, so that Local 61, although it forced the re-hiring of hundreds of teachers and paraprofessionals, lost a subsequent collective bargaining election in 1981 to a CTA that promised gains without pains.

**The 1980s**

When the School Board engaged in massive layoffs, the teachers discovered that even tenured teachers could be fired with the simple, if erroneous, claim of financial hardship. Could any other action have forced a better result in 1979? Partly in consequence of the incapacity of local districts to deal across the board with their employees, the CTA made absolutely no headway representing teachers. In fact, class size grew scandalously. Job-security fell to the scythe of Proposition 13. Cut-backs at all levels and the CTA's flabby negotiations demoralized teachers, eliminated orderly hiring, firing, and transfer policies, and produced a harried work force.

In the early 1980s Jim Ballard's leadership became increasingly controversial as the Local lost a second collective-bargaining election to the CTA. Teachers feared strike actions and Ballard's association with them. He had locked horns with an intransigent superintendent and school board and couldn't re-establish good working relations with them. Each side had become rigidly distrustful of the other. In 1984, Ballard turned the leadership over to his Vice-President, Joan-Marie Shelley, a long-time ally. Her task was to re-invigorate the union, prepare it for a new period of growth, gain the confidence of the teachers, and persuade the un-organized to join the faithful in a new drive to regain collective bargaining representation.

The first major challenge under the new leadership came in 1985 when the California School Employees Association sought to decertify SF/AFT as bargaining agent for paraprofessionals. Local 61 won the election handily by a margin of nearly two to one and went on to negotiate the "longevity" program, which made the 700 (now up to 1100) most senior paraprofessionals permanent and provided them with paid vacations, movement on the salary schedule, and district-paid dental benefits. A year later the union entered into a trust agreement with the school district establishing the Paraprofessional Career Program, in which the union and the district cooperate to enable paraprofessionals to complete college, earn credentials, and become teachers in the district.

The present membership of Local 61 is a healthy 2200, including a vigorous Retired Teachers Chapter, which was formed in 1984 and is now a mainstay of the local.

On May 26, 1989, the rebuilding period ended successfully when Local 61, beating the CTA in a challenging election, won back the right to serve as collective bargaining agent. The San Francisco Federation of Teachers thus began a new and promising chapter in its seventy year history.

(Maury Englander, Joan-Marie Shelley, contributors)

*SF/AFT COPE phone bank during 1980 election campaign. Front, from left: Joan Marie Shelley, Julie Koppich, Jim Ballard; second row: Diane Doe, Judy Nitzberg, Kim Moran (standing); rear: Dennis Kelly, Gerry Meister (photo Michael DeCastro)*



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# San Diego Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 370**
**Chartered 1935**

Local 370 is one of the earlier AFT locals in California and the West. The San Diego Federation of Teachers has held the number 370 twice. The original Local 370 (the outgrowth in the San Diego City Schools of the independent Men's Classroom Teachers Association, composed mostly of World War II veterans struggling to raise families on the abysmally low teachers' salaries of the early fifties) lasted only briefly before folding and surrendering its charter. However, primarily because of the insistence and pushing of "the father of the AFT in San Diego," the late Hal Whitby, it was revived as the county-wide Local 1278, with chapters in the city and a number of outlying school districts. Ultimately, when the chapters had become solidly established, Local 1278 was dissolved and the various chapters became independent locals. The City Schools chapter then picked up its old number and continued as Local 370.

The first president of Local 1278 was an aggressive industrial education teacher named Mort McGeary. Unfortunately, because he could not support his large family on a teacher's pay, McGeary, after his term as president was up, had to resign from teaching to establish his own electrical contracting business. He then ran for the San Diego City School Board, members of which at that time were uniformly residents of the affluent LaGalla and Point Loma communities. McGeary's bid was unsuccessful, but he did throw a scare into the establishment and aroused such interest into the Board's electoral process that a City Charter Review Commission, with representatives from organized labor, recommended that Board members be nominated by district and elected at large. The recommendation resulted in a municipal ordinance and the Board in time became more representative.

Local 1278's second president was the late Gladden Boaz. A social studies teacher and a tireless life-long social and union activist, it was Boaz who took the lead in establishing and servicing the chapters in the county school districts. Boaz was succeeded as president by another social studies teacher, Fred Horn, who later became a CFT president.

Horn, in turn, was succeeded by English teacher Dick Martin, who served four years as SDFT president and also became active on the state and national levels. He has served continuously on SDFT's executive board since he joined the AFT in 1958 and, although now retired from teaching (except for occasional work as a substitute), is again serving as the local's president. In 1978 Martin was the recipient of the CFT's Ben Rust award.

Local 1278's best and first non-city president was Bob Holden of the Grossmont Community College District. It was toward the end of Holden's term that Local 1278 was dissolved into independent locals. Holden gained a deserved measure of fame by his authorship of a series of constitutional amendments and resolutions at AFT national conventions.

Local 370 and the district's teachers benefited from the outstanding leadership of such presidents as Stan Bartnick, Fran Slowiczek, and Morris Jones. It was Bartnick who in 1978 brilliantly spurred and organized the first teachers' strike in the history of the San Diego City Schools. The "strike" was a one day demonstration by hundreds of courageous AFT teachers who first picketed their own schools and then gathered to parade on the grounds and through the halls of the Administration Center. Although expectedly condemned by the administration and the school board, the strike resulted in an immediate increase in the district's unsatisfactory salary offer.

***Although some may have regarded as quixotic Local 370's audacity in forcing the election upon a reluctant giant, it did compel the association to take collective bargaining seriously and to become more like a union.***

Later the same year SDFT collected sufficient signatures to force a collective bargaining election under the terms of the newly operational Rodda Act. The outcome was predictable. Although Local 370 gained more than three times as many votes as it had members and the San Diego Teachers Association gained fewer votes than it had members, the much larger association won the election handily. Although some may have regarded as quixotic Local 370's audacity in forcing the election upon a reluctant giant, it did compel the association to take collective bargaining seriously and to become more like a union.

The following year, in fact, the association called its own strike and, al-

though it failed to follow legally required preliminary steps before walking out, the strike was supported, in the spirit of teacher unity by over 95% of Local 370's members. Unfortunately, only about half of the association's members participated. The strike, which lasted four days, ended very inconclusively. One shudders to think what might have happened had the half of the association's members not been joined by AFT.

Since it has been the bargaining agent, the association has made only very moderate gains for the district's teachers. SDFT, though in the unenviable position of being a non-bargaining agent local, is still able to make its voice heard. Though we cannot directly affect the course of events, we can still agitate—something the association has always acknowledged in various ways that we're good at—illuminate, both personally and in papers of the *Classroom Teacher* and other communications, and generate ideas for the future. The very fact that we exist as an alternative teacher advocate keeps the pressure on.

Which brings us again to origins and performance over the years. When SDFT was organized, the SDTA was as much a company union as a company union can be. SDFT, in contrast, was an activist organization from the start. We immediately joined the central labor council and with the assistance of the council successfully lobbied, as mentioned earlier, for a change in the method of electing school board members. Also with the assistance of the council we were able to prevail upon the Board of Education to institute a board paid catastrophic medical insurance plan, the first medical plan in the district's history and the base upon which our present generally satisfactory medical plan was built.

Like other AFT locals, we began prosecuting grievances when no grievance procedure existed. By 1978 a fairly decent—for the times—grievance procedure was already in place. Before and during the Winton Act period we managed to get protective language for teachers incorporated into the district's administrative Procedures and Regulations. Of course, an advocacy organization must "police" any agreement it extracts from an employer and sometimes that means you have to go to court to make the employer live up to his agreement. This was signally true in the famous Adcock case in which ultimately the State Supreme Court ruled in a 6-1 decision that the district has indeed "arbitrarily and capriciously" transferred Adcock for his exercise of freedom of speech and ordered him reassigned to his original position (the association, by the way, remained officially "neutral" on the merits of the Adcock transfer).

***The very fact that we exist as an alternative teacher advocate keeps the pressure on.***

Politically, leaders and members of SDFT have always been intensely active. It was SDFT which took the lead in San Diego County in rallying opposition to the Assemblyman Louis Francis' Anti-Communist Constitutional Amendment, which would have particularly adversely affected teachers. The association, sadly, remained silent on this dangerous, McCarthyite proposal until just before the election (interestingly, the then president of CTA was a leading supporter of the amendment). Fortunately, the voters rejected it at the polls.

Over the years SDFT has regularly made presentations before the Board of Education. For many years, we were the only organization to picket Board of Education meetings on various issues of critical importance to teachers. For example, when the Board met to discuss instituting a merit pay plan, they were greeted by scores of AFT members waving picket signs and wearing oversize buttons proclaiming "I Am Meritorious." Dick Martin then delivered a searing criticism of the plan, which was subsequently dropped. The association then still believed that picketing by teachers was undignified and—remember the aspersion—"unprofessional." Well, they've improved slowly, gradually, reluctantly over the years, but....

Now, more than thirty years after the formation of AFT in San Diego, after the expenditure of so much time (which, it should be noted, also sometimes wore out administrators and made them more amenable to teacher demands), energy (often to the point of exhaustion and endangered health), and money (often personal funds) but still occupying a minority position, what is our reaction? It is one of quiet pride and satisfaction in what we have accomplished for teachers despite our continuous minority position. Our present contract is just as much the result of our efforts and sacrifices over the years as it is the association's. As a result of SDFT activism, the elements of San Diego's contract were already in place before SDTA won the election and bargained the first contract.

We close with the expression of the conviction that our continuing presence is necessary if the gains of the past are to be preserved and more achieved in the future.

(Dick Martin, contributor)

# United Teachers of Oakland

**AFT Local 771**
**Chartered 1943**

The Oakland local had its beginnings in the Bay Cities Federation of Teachers, local 349, AFT, AFL, chartered in 1934. Since that time the local has had numerous name changes including the Oakland/Alameda County Federation of Teachers, the Oakland Federation of Teachers, and its present title of the United Teachers of Oakland.

Local 771 received its charter on May 3, 1943. The President was Ed Cone, a committed teacher unionist who returned from retirement in 1976 to serve as the first Grievance Vice President of the newly formed United Teachers of Oakland. In addition to Ed Cone, the Oakland teachers who served as president of Local 771 over the years included Ed Ross, Ralph Steinhaus, Edward "Pete" Lee, Bob Hudson, Elman Bargfrede, Ron Miller, Maurice Besse, Tom Roland, Garlton Garske, Elizabeth Jay, Miles Myers, Eugene Horwitz, Dave Creque, Walt Swift, Barbara Bissell, and Al Rossi, the current President.

The Oakland local has a proud history of activity around social, educational, and professional issues. Ranging from opposition to the Viet Nam war, support for the Farmworkers Union, and active participation in the Bay Area Civil Rights Movement in the sixties and seventies to issues of restructuring and teacher professionalism in the eighties, local 771 has always been quick to pick up the cutting issues of the period. The Oakland local has won some landmark cases in its history of teacher advocacy. The Stokes case, for example, involved the straight forward concept that a school board had to follow its own rules, a ruling that provided a state-wide precedent.

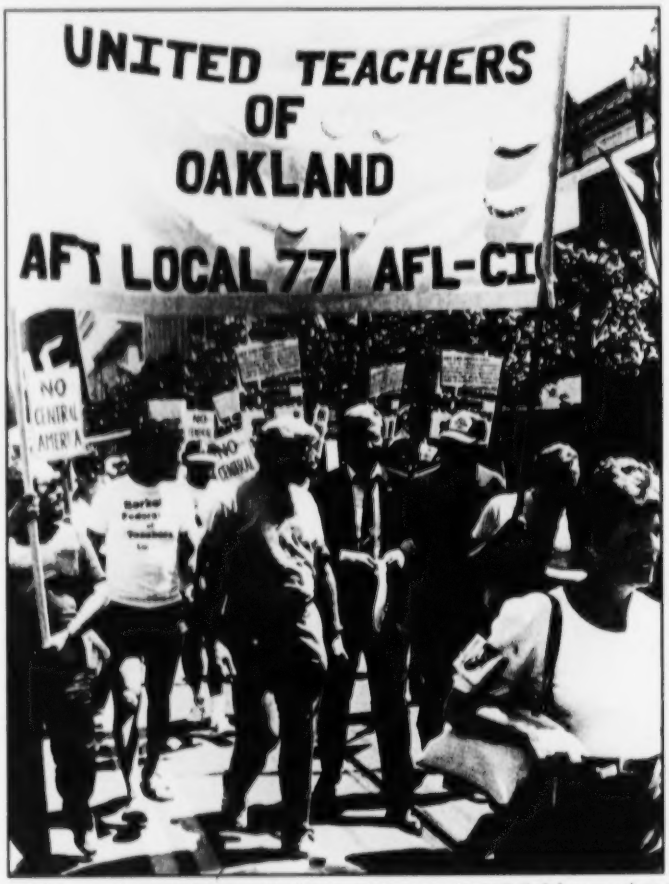
In the early years AFT leaders in Oakland had to fight for recognition against a school administration and a local association that had little interest in teacher rights. From that beginning local Oakland AFTers had a sense of what a teaching profession that was worth fighting for should look like. Their vision was of a labor-affiliated teacher organization that could bring together both classified and certificated employees around their mutual interests with the power of organized labor behind them. But, it was also a concept of a union that had professional goals and a strong commitment to providing quality education to Oakland's students. These were leaders who saw that the role of teachers should include site and district leadership and should be accorded professional pay and status.

In 1946 the local supported workers during the general strike centered on the downtown Oakland shopping area. The local's major concerns at that time were salaries, pensions, duty free lunch periods,free towels for students in P.E. classes, coaching stipends, the length of the school day, teacher rights and academic freedom, school discipline, desegregation, the election of school board candidates concerned with the classroom, and the involvement of the public in decision making. (The local advocated night board meetings and the district eventually adopted such a policy.) Most of these issues remain important and unresolved regardless of the passage of more than 40 years.

In the late sixties, the local joined with community groups in protesting the selection of a new superintendent. The opposition culminated in a sit-in during a school board meeting. NAACP representatives and Local 771 President Dave Creque ended up in a melee with the police. After billy clubs and brief cases finished flying, Creque and the NAACP leaders found themselves under arrest charged with anarchy, trespass, and a variety of other charges. The defendants, known as the Oakland Five, ultimately agreed to a plea of Nolo Contendere for the crime of standing in the aisle at a public meeting. The upshot of the controversy, however, was the hiring of Marcus Foster, widely considered the best superintendent that Oakland has had.

Local 771 has also provided the longest running student scholarship in the district. The Allara-Payton-Rosen-Cooperrider Scholarship has provided Oakland students with $500 scholarships since the late fifties. The scholarship is awarded to the students who show academic excellence and financial need, and who intend to pursue a career in education or some other form of public service.

In 1976 the United Teachers of Oakland (UTO) was formed out of a merger between the Oakland Federation of Teachers (OFT) and the Teachers Association of Oakland (TAO). The merger brought together leaders from both the Oakland Education Association (OEA) (Marge Beach, a former president of the OEA; Sally Eskew, Jim Welsh, and others) and the OFT (Barbara Bissell, Walt Swift, Miles Myers, Al Rossi, Bill Winston, and others) to form an organization that stood for merger, labor affiliation, and collective bargaining. Stan Kistner, another former OEA president also joined UTO at that time. Although UTO has not yet succeeded in winning the right to represent all Oakland teachers in bargaining, the mix of ideas that set the groundwork for UTO continues to inform its activities and goals.




*UTO marches with labor, 1984 Democratic convention (S.G. Johnson, photo)*

UTO went on to represent two bargaining units for the next decade: the adult education hourly teachers and para-professionals in the child development centers. UTO contracts have consistently ranked at the top among similar bargaining units.

Throughout the period UTO bargainingteams have worked closely with the Central Labor Council of Alameda County, AFL-CIO. UTO's delegates on the council include Dave Creque who is on the Council's Executive Committee, and Lanny Holm and Linton Byington who have been CLC delegates for UTO for more than a decade.

Local 771 has never lacked for quality in leadership over the years. Grievance Vice Presidents for UTO have helped both certificated and classified employees in and out of the units that were officially represented by UTO. Among the grievance officers that have served UTO were: Dave Creque, Mike Bradley, Ed Cone, June Brumer, Felice York, and Kathie Rossi. The current Grievance Vice President is Jennifer Block, an adult ed teacher formerly the executive vice president for the adult ed chapter of UTO.

Over the last decade two Oakland teachers have served the local as treasurer: Steve Johnson and Doris Wicker, the current treasurer. UTO's organizing effort has been coordinated by hard working teachers who have somehow found the time at the end of the school day to put together phone trees and run work parties. The original Organizing Vice Presidents for UTO were Sally Eskew (TAO) and Al Rossi (OFT). Since then they have included Lorrie Baker and Susie Myers. The present organizing officer is Carol Squicci. Other UTO vice presidents have included: Lanny Holm, Rachel Stern (well known for her workshops on the Holocaust and Women's Rights), Carolyn Rising, Rachel Bartlett-Preston, and Grace Morizawa. Valerie Messer has served as Membership Secretary, and Shirley Haynes represents CFT on a joint AFT-CSEA state-wide committee on safety in the schools.

UTO's organizing vice presidents have been responsible for organizing committees that have provided the phone contact between UTO and its building reps. The Area Officers on those committees have included Debbie San Juan, Sylvia Parker, Grace Morizawa, Lorrie Baker, Jean Roberson, and Jon Kramer.

(David Creque, Al Rossi, contributors)



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# San Jose Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 957**
**Chartered 1947**

**The Early Years: 1947-1972**

The founding President of Local 957, Robert Doerr, who later became Mayor of San Jose, said, "We formed the San Jose Teachers' Union and affiliated with the AFL because we believe that the teacher is one of the most highly productive of workers, and that the best interests of the schools and of the people demand an intimate contact in an effective cooperation between the teachers and other workers of the community upon whom the future of democracy must depend."

AFT Local 957 was chartered January 29, 1947 as the San Jose Teachers' Union. (Little is known of an earlier San Jose Local 153 chartered in 1920.) Local 957 was a catalyst of teacher unionism in Santa Clara Valley and a presence in the Labor Movement. It attracted teachers from throughout the area and later became the Santa Clara County Federation of Teachers. Eventually, AFT Locals were begun at San Jose State (now representing the Academic Support Staff), Gilroy (instructional aides), and Mitty High School (faculty), among others.

Local 957 members were important in the Central Labor Council. Hamil Wagnon was an officer and Education Chair and authored a column in *The Union Gazette*. George Miller was elected to the Central Labor Council Executive Board with Wagnon in 1952. Charles Womack was elected Warden in 1958. Ray D'Artenay was elected to Central Labor Council Board in 1961 and became Education Chair. Vic Ulmer was on the Board from 1965-1973. Continuing the tradition, Mike Nye was elected to the Central Labor Council Board in 1974, became a Central Labor Council Trustee and Chair of the Public Employee Committee in 1975, and Central Labor Council Business Manager from 1977-81. Carol Webb has been Recording Secretary since 1983.

Local 957 influenced the Central Labor Council to support tax and bond elections for the schools in the post-war era. It also helped support a labor radio program. With no collective bargaining for public employees, Local 957 looked to the Central Labor Council for support. Central Labor Council Business Manager Earl Moorhead was on the San Jose Unified School Board, and Henry Gunderson of the Electricians was on the San Jose Unified and San Jose City College Boards, and the State Board of Education.

Local 957 participated in many statewide and national fights for teacher rights. Dismissals at San Jose State (SJS) without regard to seniority were successfully opposed by 957, the Central Labor Council, and the State AFL. Both Local 957 and the new AFT Local at SJS opposed the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1960. The Local demanded updated pension fund reports in 1963. In 1956, the Local had to take legal action when Santa Clara USD harassed 957 Treasurer, Jess Sanchez. In 1967, 957 and the Central Labor Council supported a peace march and a resolution supporting free higher public education. In 1970, 957 fought the firing of SJS local president, Dr. Rutherford. The early 957 presidents were Robert Doerr, 1947; Jack Marsh, 1948; Mildred Moore, 1949; Ray D'Artenay, 1950; Hamil Wagnon, 1951; Torrey Smith, 1952; L. Ben Howard, 1953; Mike McGuire, 1962; and Vic Ulmer, 1963-72.

**San Jose Unified: 1972 to Present**

In 1972 new locals were established and the focus of 957 reverted to San Jose Unified. The name since then has been changed to the San Jose Federation of Teachers. Mike Nye became the President of 957 and served until 1976. The local fought several battles including a maternity leave suit and a struggle led by John O'Brien for teachers' testing rights.

In 1976, Bob Beck became President of the Federation and led the fight for collective bargaining. Local 957 grew to more than 400 members and received even more votes, but it wasn't

enough.

Bill Duckwall and Susan Devencenzi served ably in the following year. The newsletter was renamed *The Phoenix*. The humorous *District Spitoon* was launched. Good questions and points were raised. Local 957 members kept things lively as when Don Schulz carried an AFT sign during the SJTA strike.

Unfortunately San Jose Unified was not ready for an early turning of the tide. The phoenix seed is planted, but the time line is unclear.

**The Adult Education Years: 1975 to Present**

In 1974-75 a district committee produced an in-depth report on the need to improve the compensation of Adult Ed teachers. Then in salary discussions CTA agreed to a 6% increase for K-12 and a 2.4% increase for Adult Ed. Adult Ed teachers were furious.

Mike Nye and Local 957 provided advice, paper, etc. An Adult Ed Chapter was formed with Forrest Nixon as chair person. Carol Adamski, Pat Regdon, Sheila Lunny, and Stella Norvelle were key founding members. The chapter began a campaign which ended in success months later when the Board granted Adult Ed hourly teachers an equal 6% increase.

In 1978 the new director of Regional Programs instituted a disastrous reorganization plan. In the course of that battle, Local 957 produced a prophetic position paper (by Kathy Eshnaur et. al.), established a reputation for reliability, and gained the support of a solid majority of Adult Ed teachers. That same year the local worked hard against Prop. 13 and then mobilized to minimize cuts to Adult Ed. It was about that time that the core group of Forrest Nixon, Carol Webb, Pat Hall, Rita Pearl, Richard Hobbs, Sheila Lunny, and Harriet Skapinsky formed. Alice Cox became Human Rights Chair and with Genie Bernardini, provided many interesting potlucks.

*Carol Webb and Forrest Nixon sign the first Adult Ed Contract*

In 1979, Local 957 won a PERB election and recognition as bargaining agent for hourly teachers.

Susan Devencenzi gave invaluable help in the first negotiations and was acclaimed as a K-12 teacher who really understood Adult Ed. About that time Susan Hauser began her valuable service as rep. at the Voc. Center, and Sallie McCombs took the same role with the Refugee Project.

In 1980 we signed our first Adult Ed contract and helped defeat Prop. 9 Richard Hobbs brought Central America to the attention of the Executive Board, which, after study, passed one of the earliest Central America peace resolutions.

In 1983 the administration of Regional Programs was shifted to a joint powers agency. Local 957 worked to ensure a smooth transition with current employees, wages, and union contract being carried forward. Earlier that year the local successfully blocked an administration attempt to end most evening classes several weeks early.

In 1987-88 Local 957 worked for another smooth transition as East Side withdrew from the consortium and set up its own program. With CTA objecting, Local 957 was recognized as the bargaining agent.

A second Executive Board group coalesced in 1987-88: Forrest Nixon, Carol Webb, Pat Hall, Rita Pearl, Chela Gonzalez, and Alice Cox (MAEP); Sallie McCombs, Pam Lewis, and April Rice (East Side); Ray Behvand and Barbara Hooper (CCOC/P); and Marjorie Meredith (retired).

Local 957 has successfully negotiated many changes and looks forward confidently to a similar future.

(Mike Nye, Forrest Nixon, contributors)



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# United Teachers of Los Angeles

## AFT Local 1021 Chartered 1949

Local 1021, the largest AFT local in the State of California, has a proud history. Its development may be divided into four distinct epochs.

The first AFT local in Los Angeles was Local 77 founded in 1919. This local struggled to keep afloat in a sea of anti-unionism in Los Angeles. The CFT was born in the same year and included only seven locals. Local 77 did not last through the 1930s.

In 1935 Local 430 was formed and received its AFT charter. By 1939 Local 430 was the largest local in the CFT and played a major role in teacher union issues. It was active in the Central Labor Council and worked to restore pay cuts to teachers. It also was concerned with teacher involvement in curriculum, policy formation, and control at the school site level. The local was very active in school board elections, teacher rights defense causes and important social issues such as equality of opportunity for students regardless of race. The local grew rapidly and reached a membership of about one thousand teachers in 1946.

*From top left: Jim Strong, Eddie Irwin, Joe Voorhees*
*From bottom left: Hank Clarke, Bob Holcomb*

Local 430's leadership in the mid to late 1940s changed and the local's policy emphasis began to focus on social and international issues. The shift was brought to the attention of the 1948 AFT convention by Walter Thomas. This prompted an investigation of Local 430 by the AFT Executive Council. The Washington Teachers Union and San Francisco Local 61 were also examined. The Council had previously investigated locals in New York and Cleveland.

Local 430's charter was revoked in 1949 for the following reasons:

...The conduct of the local had brought AFT into disrepute;
...The local had not functioned in harmony with the policies and principles of the AFT; and
...The local had dissipated its energies "in agitation and politics unconnected with union objectives"

Thus, the largest AFT local in California was put to death. The President of Local 430, who was also the President of the CFT, was defeated for reelection in 1949. The problem of promoting the Communist Party line rather than organizing and promoting bona fide trade unions was not unique to Los Angeles, the state of California, or the AFT.

Historians may argue whether revocation of 430's charter was justified and may question whether communist control of the leadership of this local was an accomplished fact. The circumstances surrounding this series of events should be known so that the necessary lesson is learned that policies and programs that disaffect members and the public undermine unionism. The problems of the teamsters' public image attests to this problem that has hurt all trade unions.

The teachers in Los Angeles formed another AFT local and the AFT Executive Council charted it as Local 1021. This was the third stage in teacher unionism in Los Angeles. Local 1021 started with a membership of about 200 members. The first two presidents were Joe Voorhees and Walt Thomas. Other early leaders include Linnea Alexander, Kay Bell, Blanche Garrison and Hy Weintraub. The unit had a hard time in its infancy and it had to contest a virulent anti-union atmosphere in education and a school administration that fostered membership of "their" teachers in the association which was controlled by those same CTA administrators.

The local blithely ignored its miniscule size in a district of some 15,000 teachers and addressed issues as if it were a majority. It took strong stands on every issue concerning teachers and yet gained very few members. Upon the advice of Carl Megel, National AFT president, the local began a newspaper edited by Eddie Irwin. In 1958 Eddie Irwin was elected President of the local. He turned over the editorship to Bob Crain who was the editor through 1963. In the mid 1950s the President of the local was Martin Kaufman and Hank Zivetz was the Executive Secretary. Hank Zivetz had been hired as the first paid Executive Secretary in 1956 as membership gained ground. His firebrand organizing techniques and inflammatory speeches added many new members. However, the most significant growth in membership occurred in 1958 when Local 1021 negotiated the Kaiser Health Plan for its members. Eddie Irwin, Hank Zivetz, Vice President Harold Garvin, and Evelyn Carstens, the moving force behind the negotiations, were responsible for bringing this exclusive plan to Local 1021. Evelyn Carstens, chair of the local's Health and Welfare committee was an integral part of the leadership in the 1950s and 1960s. She was much beloved for her untiring efforts to gain health and welfare benefits for the members of this local and all teachers in the district.

With the use of this Kaiser Health Plan as an organizing tool, membership quickly grew to over three thousand members by the end of 1959. The power and prestige of Local 1021 grew with the help of those mentioned previously and Hy Weintraub and Hy Gottof as the local's rep-resentatives to the L.A. Board of Education. Hank Zivetz made a major effort to help pass AB 607, a collective bargaining law, in 1959-1960. Eddie

Irwin was elected a national AFT Vice President and served in that capacity for ten years. As national Vice President Irwin helped funnel funds and organizing efforts into California. The "Union Teacher," a four-page tabloid, set the foundation for future growth. It presented the news that the other local organizations didn't talk about: issues of class size, dictatorial administrators, unfairness, freedom of speech, discipline from the teacher's point of view, and reports of L.A. Board of Education actions.

Other issues centered around Board of Education elections. The Board was controlled almost completely by the then-ultra conservative *L.A. Times*. It practiced slanted journalism and lavished coverage on their hand-picked incumbents. Here though, the association, recognizing the necessity of the support of organized labor, joined a community-based coalition, including labor. Along with the AFT, the Association provided money and manpower to defeat the *Times* and install members more favorable to education.

In 1957, censorship reared its ugly head (and remains an issue today). The Board threatened to censor the "Union Teacher" which had been delivered to teachers in their boxes in school mail. The most curious attempt by the Board was designed to prevent the printing of an article that drew a comparison of the problems that Admiral Rickover might incur if he had to deal with the L.A. Board instead of the U.S. Navy. The administration viewed this as an attack on Admiral Rickover and the entire United States Navy. The Admiral wrote the union that he understood the article to be a spoof directed at the administrators who ran the schools and not an attack on him. His letter was printed in the paper.

The struggle to gain collective bargaining was a major thrust of the union in the late 1950s until 1969. Local 1021 lobbied the Legislature and wrote articles in the "Union Teacher". A petition drive to achieve collective bargaining collected over ten thousand signatures. However, collective bargaining didn't become an actuality until the late 1970s.

The organizing efforts of Local 1021 took new shape in 1962 when Roger Thomas, son of Walt Thomas, was named Executive Secretary. An area representative organizing plan was instituted and the following members became Area Representatives: Farrel Broslawsky, Mervyn Dymally (later to become an Assemblymember), Willard Hastings, Jack Hutton, Al Poppen. This system continued for some time.

In 1964, the Community College members organized a new Los Angeles local. It was called the L.A. College Guild Local 1521. Eddie Irwin resigned as president of Local 1021 and became the first elected president of 1521. Hy Weintraub and Farrell Broslawsky, the 1021 Vice-President, became members of 1521, as did many other 1021 union activists. Hank Zivetz assumed the presidency of Local 1021, Jean Thompson became Executive Secretary and Larry Sibelman was the new Vice President.

From 1966 to 1969 Larry Sibelman served as President and Roger Segure as Executive Secretary. Roger served many years as the local's Grievance Chairperson and today remains Director of Grievances for UTLA.

UTLA Local 1021 was born of a merger of AFT Local 1021 and ACTLA. The Association of Classroom Teachers of Los Angeles was a result of a number of mergers of various associations. It had a membership exceeding 17,000 members. AFT Local 1021 had a membership of between 2,000 and 3,000 members. The merged organization was named United Teachers, Los Angeles with a NEA/CTA local and an AFT/CFT local. UTLA 1021 was the AFT/CFT local. The merger was ratified by a vote of the members in February of 1970.

This new hybrid called UTLA was the first AFT and NEA affiliated union in the United States. After twenty years it remains the only merged AFT/NEA affiliated union. Other merged local and state unions/associations have been failures. This included New York (NYSUT) and the Florida Education Association which became AFT units and Hawaii State Teachers Association which became a NEA unit. The merger has worked extremely well and a vast majority of the twenty-two thousand members know they are UTLA members but can't tell whether they are affiliated with the AFT or NEA. It took many far-sighted leaders to put this merged union together. Some of the AFT leaders were Dave Selden, George Brickhouse, Raoul Teilhet, Larry Sibelman and Roger Segure.

Among others, the Association leaders were Bob Ransome, Don Baer, Bill Lambert and Bob Sanders.

The first major act of UTLA was a strike in April of 1970 to gain a contract. This strike lasted for over twenty days and resulted in an outstanding contract that was negated by the courts. A large number of members quit UTLA over the strike action. UTLA lost about five thousand members almost all of whom were originally ACTLA. The AFT leaders were the principal actors in the strike. A majority of strike cluster leaders were 1021 members. From that strike forward UTLA Local 1021-affiliated membership grew faster than Association membership.

*Hank Zivetz, left, and former Supreme Court justice and US Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg*

The first two Presidents of UTLA were Association leaders while the last three were AFT-affiliated members: Hank Springer was an AFT leader who was UTLA President from 1976 to 1980, while Judy Solkovits was UTLA President from 1980 to 1984, national AFT Vice President and CFT Vice President. Our current President is Wayne Johnson who has been serving in this capacity since 1984.

UTLA Local 1021 Presidents have been Larry Sibelman, Judy Solkovits and Michael Bennett, and since 1984 Marv Katz. Marv Katz was recently elected national AFT Vice President. He has also served since 1985 as CFT Vice President. Day Higuchi, UTLA Local 1021 Vice

President, also serves as a CFT Vice President.

UTLA Local 1021 is today the largest AFT local west of the Mississippi River with about five thousand five hundred members and is one of the fifteen largest AFT Locals in the United States. UTLA is the second largest teachers union in the United States exclusively serving teachers. UTLA has its own bi-weekly tabloid newspaper, lobbyist, print shop, television facilities, and a political action committee with a core of 500 precinct walkers and the ability to raise a quarter of a million dollars a year in campaign money. UTLA has become a political powerhouse in local and state politics.

*1021 President Larry Sibelman speaking to press during 1970 strike. CFT president Raoul Teilhet at his left*

Since Marv Katz became president in 1984, UTLA Local 1021 has been very active in the California Federation of Teachers. Unfortunately previous local presidents weren't as active in CFT affairs which hurt the effectiveness of the CFT. As UTLA Local 1021 is the largest local in the CFT, its participation in the organization makes the CFT stronger. Marv Katz has been active in CFT for almost twenty years and believes in a strong viable CFT as a vehicle to improve education in California.

The greatest problem that confronted this local was an internal one revolving around a conflict between leaders on affiliation questions. The membership was unconcerned about affiliation questions from the beginning of the 1970s. Gradually, the leadership, too, became mostly unconcerned about affiliation questions. Voting patterns in citywide elections for non-affiliate officers are of little consequence. A majority of the officers and area chairs are original Local 1021 members, a pattern that has existed for the last ten years.

Educational, political, social, and economic issues are the major concerns of UTLA and 1021. The educational issues of teacher empowerment and educational reform have been important to the classroom teachers of Los Angeles. Of course teacher rights and working conditions are issues fought for by the union since its inception. We have been fighting for these through our political action arm called PACE (Political Action Council of Educators), as well as through contract bargaining demands.

Social issues such as integration/desegregation in the 1970s and 1980s as well as policies toward immigrants have occupied our finances, energy and time. Foreign policy in Latin America as well as human rights worldwide have played a prominent role in our activities. Bilingual education has become a major organizational concern in the last few years. It seems that the same basic issues and problems in variant forms have to be faced at all times and places, although not always at the same intensive level.

This union has an outstanding legislative program in Sacramento. We have passed into law a paperwork Bill, teacher suspension Bill, school discipline Bill, and had vetoed by the Governor in 1988 a significant retirement Bill. In the last few years, UTLA has stopped a great deal of legislation harmful to teachers and education. Bill Lambert, our Director of Governmental Affairs, has led these efforts.

Our Communications Department, headed by Catherine Carey, has won many honors for our bi-weekly tabloid newspaper and our pioneering productions in the use of television programming on cassettes. We have won more awards than any other local or state organization/federation in the AFT-NEA. We have won two awards from the AFL-CIO's International Labor Communications Association for our newspaper and media programming. The L.A. Press Club has named the "United Teacher," the best labor newspaper in Los Angeles. Helen Bernstein has played a vital role in our media pro-gramming.

UTLA membership has grown by five thousand over the last four years and 1021 has accounted for one third of that amount. This has occurred as a result of membership drives and our success at the bargaining table. Our members have had a raise each year averaging almost eight percent in the last four years as well as improvements in fringe benefits and working conditions. UTLA/UTLA Local 1021 is a vital, growing teachers union that continually strives to meet goals of teachers. We need to organize and bring into our union classified workers not already organized by other unions. Our Local 1021 Executive Board consists of: Marv Katz, President; Day Higuchi, Vice President; Stan Malin, Treasurer; Jerry Solender, Secretary; Pat Stanyo, Greg Solkovits, Pat Trivers, Edgar Cowan, and Dale Johnson.

(Eddie Irwin, Marv Katz, contributors)



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# Berkeley Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 1078**
**Chartered 1950**

In 1990, the BFT will have reached an age of two score years. During these four decades, the teachers' union has undergone a metamorphosis: from an infant group struggling for legitimate recognition as an organization to the bargaining agent for certificated staff in the Berkeley Unified School District.

**The 1950s:**
**The Struggle To Exist**

This was the age of the imperial rule of the superintendent. From his throne of declared infallibility, the superintendent governed his educational fiefdom with contemptuous autocracy. The school board existed merely as a mirror to reflect his imperial mandates. Upon employment, we were versed in the litany that to work in our city - the "Athens of the West" - was satisfaction enough. We were expected to admire the garment of his authority and leadership. Evidence of dissatisfaction could lead to dismissal *without cause* to other provinces of teaching.

His edicts were clear: join the PTA; become a member of the BTA-CTA-NEA conglomerate of professionals dominated by administrators; respect and obey your site principal; talk never of unionism...and with proper behavior, tenure would be granted to us.

Our beginning salary was $3500. Senior teachers with an AB+92 units or an MA+72 units could receive a top salary of $7200 after sixteen years in the district. We had no protective Personnel Policies, nor any vehicle to express our concerns to the school board or the community. Our voice on all educational matters was the superintendent.

The BFT's "Founding Fathers" obtained its charter from the AFT in 1950. Its acquisition and membership were kept secret...for this was the decade of McCarthyism: when unionism equalled radicalism which equalled communism.

We met and socialized on weekends. We helped each other's families move, paint and remodel our houses. We purchased a secondhand mimeograph machine and produced our monthly newspaper...which we distributed after school to teachers as they left their schools.

In the waning years of the 50s, we announced our existence. At board meetings, we were not recognized as an organization; we were not given equal time to the BTA at faculty meetings; we could not use the school mail; and no bulletin boards were made accessible to us in the schools. But we prevailed.

**The 1960s:**
**Pioneering Educational Reforms**

We decided to become a community political organization. We encouraged and supported liberal and pro-labor individuals to seek election to the school board. Our newspaper...*The Gadfly*...was distributed to the community at large. Within a few years we had a liberal board...who appointed superintendents in tune with the winds of social and educational change.

Within the decade the BFT initiated and received board approval for:

- a written personnel policy assuring teachers of protection
- a proposal to restructure the junior high schools to put an end to segregation at this level of education
- a proposal to restructure the elementary schools (K-6) in order to end desegregation. (*We had sought a BFT variation of New York's "More Effective Schools" concept. We had asked for a group of schools within a zone which would have been controlled by the BFT teachers who would determine curriculum and the site expenditure of funds. Our plan also introduced two-way bussing in order to desegregate the elementary schools within the zone. The PTAs of the invoked schools supported the BFT plan.*

*When the board met to vote approval, a clever director amended our proposal to desegregate the entire district's*

*elementary schools. The vote was 5-0 in favor. Desegregation of elementary schools was achieved...but the BFT lost its chance to control the education of a set of schools governed by teachers.)*

• a specific override tax on the people of Berkeley to provide the employees of our school district with medical & dental coverage, income protection insurance covering illness and disability, and a general insurance coverage.

As the curtain lowered on the 1960s, we were still the minority organization among teachers. Despite our achievements, most teachers could not accept our union label (AFL-CIO). They were "professionals". The melody of the BTA-CTA lingered on.....but confidence was high within the BFT.

**The 1970s:**
**Glorious In Defeat; Triumphant in the End**

The school board remained "liberal"...and some members move on to higher public office and judgeships with our Alameda County AFL-CIO Labor's endorsement. Most assuredly, we thought, teachers would discard their antediluvian notions of unionism and join the BFT...for we had the support of the board. A discordant note was registered in 1976. Members of the board felt they knew what was best for teachers. Knowing what was best for us, they took a paternalistic attitude. An impasse developed which required a rapprochement between the BFT and the BTA. Our united efforts in negotiations with the board collapsed. Both organizations' members voted to walk out of their schools of employment.

We had all the elements for a successful strike: over 95% of the teachers honored the picket line; the community supported the demands of the striking teacher; and over 85% of the parents kept their children at home. But we did not win.

After six weeks, the teachers of Berkeley accepted the branch of

**We walked proudly down the halls and corridors of our schools after the strike...and it was principals and other administrators who stammered to explain their behavior.**

reconciliation...with little fruit on it. Hindsight has brought us clairvoyance. We should have encouraged parents to send their children to teacher-emptied schools to demand an education from their movie-showing scabs; and we should not have operated "union tent schools" for working mothers with children.

The economic consequences of our six week strike continues to this day. So do the "joys of remembrance." Never before nor since has the family of teachers existed...a camaraderie of meal sharing and help for others. Never before nor since has such teacher creativity expressed itself...in art, plays, or songs. *(At the next CFT Convention...ask us about our "Board Erasers.")*

We may have lost the battle...we did not lose the war. We walked proudly down the halls and corridors of our schools after the strike...and it was principals and other administrators who stammered to explain their behavior. *(And the "liberals" on the board do not enjoy higher public office or judgeships today in 1989...because our Central Labor Council continues to remember.)*

The teachers of Berkeley remembered the role of the BFT during the strike. With the appearance of the Rodda Act, the teachers of Berkeley voted to have the BFT as its bargaining agent.

**The 1980s:**
**Continued Struggles and Dangers**

Prop. 13, the Serrano Act, and board policies brought the spectre of bankruptcy to our district during the early 1980s. A State loan saved BUSD from collapse. Through contract negotiations and necessary arbitration, the BFT continues to preserve the rights of teachers and excellent working conditions. In 1988, a BFT "walk-out" produced a three year progressive salary increase to keep our staff in competition with surrounding districts.

1990 will complete the two score existence of BFT, and will introduce a new decade. Pessimists are convinced that respectability will destroy the BFT as it has other members of the AFL-CIO family of unions. Complacency and apathy will be the termites that will eat away the foundations of our organization.

We disagree. And, the very publication of this book supports our disagreement. When teachers, now and in the future, read this History of California Teachers' Unions...they will learn about, and appreciate their inheritance. While our anti-union critics forecast our demise...our teacher descendants will proclaim:
"THIS IS ONLY THE BEGINNING"

*(A. J. Tudisco, contributor)*

# Santa Barbara Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 1081 Chartered 1951

Twenty-four teachers gathered in June 1963 at Jim Jacobsen's house across from the "Queen of the Missions" to discuss their interest in the AFT with Ralph Schloming, CFT Representative. He reviewed the structure and philosophy of the AFT. Eighteen teachers signed the charter, elected officers, and paid the customary fees and dues.

Jim Jacobsen (LaCumbre JHS) was elected President, Vice President George Hopping (San Marcos), Treasurer Paul Davis (La Cumbre), Secretary Jim Dugan (San Marcos), Grievance Chair Jim McDermott (SBHS), and Central Labor Council Rep Tom Martin (SBHS). Other Charter members were: Helene Findley, Donna Hallenbeck, Jack Hickok, Bonnie Hill, Gene Hill, Wayne Jurgensen, Merrill Remick, Bob Traughber, Marilyn Von Bieberstein, Marshall Von Bieberstein, Dorothy Collins, and Frank Dobyns.

Wales Holbrook, a SBHS Psychology teacher, told the new leaders AFT Local 1081 existed in Santa Barbara following WWII. He was past-president. In the Depression teachers took a $1,200 pay cut. In 1951 they joined the AFT to recoup the loss. Once a healthy raise was granted interest waned. Holbrook passed the dues book and records to the new leaders. Local 1081 was resurrected.

The Union announced its presence when the CTC and superintendent agreed to a form of exclusive representation for the CTC/CTA without an election. At the August meeting the officers nervously waited in the stifling board room. The CTC president, a future principal, presented the proposal. Tom Martin gave a collectively-prepared statement that the secret ballot was the only way to determine exclusivity. On a board split 2-2 the proposal was defeated!

In caucus the union leaders slowly realized that in a span of thirty minutes the SBFT had announced its existence, challenged the president of the CTC/CTA, and defeated a proposal of the superintendent. It was an exciting beginning.

Within six months the local had payroll deduction rights, published newsletters, became recognized, and engaged in all district activities. Growth was slow, but from 1964-68, Local 1081 could take direct responsibility for presenting the first comprehensive salary, personnel, and education program to the districts. Local 1081 successfully proposed and lobbied for the first district-paid fringe benefit. Other Union proposals to become policy were personal necessity leave, payroll deduction for insurance, an open transfer policy with postings, open files, an equitable summer school hiring policy, and a class and room assignment procedure. During this period two social studies teachers from Santa Barbara High School served as president, Tom Martin (1964-66) and George Wollschlaeger (1966-68).

SBFT's 57 members were insufficient to qualify for a Winton Council seat. The Board proposed at least one seat for any recognized organization. The SBTA leadership objected vociferously. The SBFT served on the CEC most years, but their proposals often died for lack of a second. When slights like this occurred, the following morning a "dawn patrol" of leaders like Carol Hansen, Gene Hill, Bruce Roth, and Tom Martin would deliver bulletins to teachers' mailboxes across the district.

Cesar Chavez' UFW had friends in Local 1081. In the initial UFW strike Bob Wood and George Wollschlaeger drove trucks of food, clothing, books, and bedding to Delano for the Central Labor Council. Pete Relis persuaded the SBFT Executive Board to send monthly food supplies. The local and Supt. Jackson quietly reached agreement in the 70's to remove non-UFW grapes from cafeterias. Also on the labor front Mary Stephens (DPHS), was elected first President of the Tri-Counties Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

Ed Siemens, 1968 President, produced *The Coast Federated Teacher* for Tri-Counties locals printing AFT news of teachers in Ventura, Santa Barbara, and San Luis Obispo. Locals were chartered in Santa Paula, Ojai, and Carpinteria. Leaders met periodically as a council in Oxnard for dinner and guest speakers. Dick Reese, a SBJHS Building Rep, followed Siemens as president for two terms. Reese's survey produced a comprehensive contract and over 100 members.

Social events built a close relationship among union members and families. There were dinners, barbeques, pot lucks, TGIF's and parties. Luminaries spoke, such as Paul Schrade, Regional Director of the UAW. A favorite TGIF location was SBHS math teacher Myrtle Simms' place on Milpas Street.

In the early 1970's President Liisa Jalonen responded to the Nixon wage-price freeze in a Federal suit with other locals to reinstate lost pay. Jalonen promoted Central Labor Council participation. Under Jalonen membership showed a steady gain.

CTA support of Stull's "teacher firing law" brought many members to the union. Jim Belden, SBTA past-President and Tom Martin wrote regulations for local implementation of the law to alleviate teacher fears.

In 1974 former Local 1081 member Gary Hart won election in the 35th Assembly District. Hart's organization in Ventura and Santa Barbara has support from many AFT members. He is the Chairperson of the Senate Education Committee.

By 1974-75 many Union intitiatives were Board policy. Also, Children Centers teachers were placed on the regular teachers' salary schedule with an average raise of 15%! CC teachers became active SBFT members. One, Beth

Yeager, served as President from 1979-1981.

In 1974, 218 teachers received notices in the first RIF hearings in the District. SBFT immediately called a meeting at which each teacher was offered complete legal representation without regard to affiliation. SBFT attorney Matt Biren represented 191 of the 218. All were rehired in September and the SBFT had 262 members. Temporary teachers sought help, too. Victor Van Bourg, CFT Counsel, represented them in a suit which went to the California Supreme Court. It clarified issues regarding the classification of temps.

AFT locals in the area organized the first Tri-Counties QuEST Consortium in 1973. Cheryl Hoffman, President of Local 2216 (Carpinteria), a dynamic personality, helped develop the program. This first professional forum presented by a teacher organization in Santa Barbara was followed in 1976 by a larger QuEST Consortium at UCSB. Albert Shanker and Raoul Teilhet were speakers. Assisting in the planning from Santa Barbara were Rich Dovgin, Gwen Phillips, Linda Carbajal, Shirley Sendrak, Pat Chavez, and Frank De Martino.

Local 1081 had begun to husband resources under 20-year Treasurer Mike Couch. Couch's budget provided a large office, equipment, money for affiliate participation, social events, scholarships, and a reserve for the election. Nearly 1,100 voters were eligible in the May 5, 1977 election. Although SBFT had only 320 members every member believed "it could be done." AFT and CFT provided great support to the local from across the nation. Special assistance was provided by Larry Bordan of the CFT. Mark Hamilton and Beatrice Rosales put together an excellent home visitation campaign. Union members visited 358 teacher homes in a three week period.

To develop a contract proposal, the union created "interest groups". Resource persons were Frank DeMartino/Marge Secrist (Counselors), Gail Johnson (Nurses), Linda Meier (librarians), Connie Barger (coaches), Barbara Forester (Special Ed.), Steve Crosby (psychologists), Jean Silver (social workers), Gwen Philips (alternative school), Bill Waxman (performing arts), and Irene Kim and Nancy Cole (comp. ed.). Ron Yoshida, David James, Gail Fenelon, Jim McDermott, Rich Dovgin Jan and Charlie Clouse

*Mary Stephens receives an Outstanding Labor/Educator award from Al Shanker and Tom Martin in 1974*

assisted in drafting a comprehensive proposal. This was in stark contrast to the opposition's photostat copy produced by CTA. With a 96% voter turnout the SBFT lost by only 54 votes and won 30-35% votes greater than its membership.

As "loyal opposition," SBFT was critical when required, and supportive when appropriate. The Union continues to provide advice and unofficial representation for teachers. Mark Hamilton became president after Tom Martin joined the CFT Staff in 1978. The following year Beth Yeager assumed the leadership. In 1979 Yeager embarked on a decertification petition drive but the Union lost the election.

Hamilton returned to the presidency in 1981, and in 1983 Rich Dovgin, an English teacher, who had served as Vice President and Secretary became President. Dovgin had served many times as SBHS Faculty Senate Chair. That same year SBFT challenged again. Rich and Joanne Dovgin, Couch, Hamilton, and the Executive Board spearheaded the campaign. It centered on class size, involuntary transfers, reduced fringe benefit coverages, extra work days, elementary prep period, and teacher unity. SBFT received 38% of the vote. With a low turnout SBTA barely had majority support of the unit. During Dovgin's administration SBFT was one of the few CFT non-bargaining agent locals with increasing membership.

In 1987 Ron Yoshida assumed the presidency. He had been SBFT CEC Rep., Vice President, Teacher Rights Representative, Elementary Rep, and school Building Rep. Yoshida focuses on issues directly affecting elementary teachers and students. In 1988 he reported Santa Barbara's poor ranking among twenty comparable districts in class size and salary. Yoshida stands in support of teacher rights, education reform, and teacher unity. He works for the enhancement of teacher control over the professional improvement of learning conditions.

(Tom Martin, contributor)



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# Long Beach Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 1263 Chartered 1956

The Long Beach Federation of Teachers was chartered February 23, 1956. An earlier teacher union, AFT Local 456, was chartered in Long Beach on March 30, 1935 and lasted until World War II.

*Raymond de Groat*

Shortly after its second birthday Local 1263 was involved in a controversy that epitomized the need for a teacher union in that period when McCarthyism still cast a long shadow. Jordan High School teacher Ray de Groat was dismissed in spite of an initial recommendation of Principal Milt Sager for tenure. Deputy Superintendent Wright ordered Sager to mark de Groat unsatisfactory and recommend that he not be given tenure. Sager sent Wright a memo the Long Beach Teacher reprinted. Sager wrote, "... [de Groat] is far more sincere and earnest toward being a really good teacher than a large majority of our probationers.... In all justice I believe him to be a man of extremely high ideals.... I should be pleased to have him as a member of my teaching staff on a permanent basis."

Sager was forced to dismiss de Groat. The only hint of a reason was the charge: an "independence of spirit," which apparently described de Groat's political activities as a youngster and as a teacher union member.

Two probationary teachers at Jordan High School, Lucille Couvillon Grieve (now Harmon of the CFT travel program) and Maureen Cameron (Clarke), spoke against the administration's arbitrary action. Grieve and Cameron were summarily dismissed. Grieve remarked, "I would not have believed a few months ago that the episodes which have occurred in Long Beach could have happened. I thought things like this only happened in totalitarian countries."

Under presidents Frank Ochoa and Ron Hager, Local 1263 supported the "Tri-Teacher Dismissal Case." Eventually the court found districts could dismiss probationary teachers even if the facts showed that the teachers were competent. The "Tri-Teacher Case," however, helped change state law regarding the rights of probationary teachers.

The company union of the time, the Teachers Association of Long Beach (TALB), obliquely referred to LBFT's efforts in defense of teachers in a January, 1960, editorial in TALB Talks: "While some organizations are bogged down with sullen dissenters, disgruntled and demoralized teachers, TALB is alert with teachers who care enough to work to improve their lot. This is dedication we are talking about. No isolated pockets of pouters, but mature, professional people...No teachers' organization...has had more overall cooperation from the membership and from the administration." (emphasis added)

### Other Goals

In a speech to the Musicians' Local 353 in 1959, President Ron Hager (who also served as CFT Parliamentarian) noted the goals of LBFT included: (1) probationary protection, (2) transfer of tenure, (3) reduced class interruptions, (4) class size reduction, (5) retirement improvements, (6) unused sick leave as severance pay, (7) access to personnel records and a prohibition of secret files, (8) district-paid retirement, (9) one hour duty-free lunch (10) an end to coercion to belong to an acceptable associations, and (11) improved salaries.

*Beth, Henry, Al, Tom and Bob picket the Board building, 1970*

Growth and movement toward these goals were the focus during the 50's and 60's under the leadership of Hugh MacColl, Lou Eilerman (who served as CFT president 1958-60), Ruth (Conrad) Schweitzer (who served as CFT Secretary), Don Fitzgerald, and Hal May.

Jerry King remembers the day fellow probationary teacher Charlie McCarthy was told he would not be rehired. Local President Don Fitzgerald, on a moment's notice, spent the entire night preparing a written response in a futile attempt to dissuade the school administration. "I learned a lot that night from Don about what it means to be a teacher advocate and a lot about the cruelty of arbitrary administrative decisions."

Don Utter and Ed Penn served as editors, and activist Mark Hannaford was later elected mayor of Lakewood and congressman. Members Jerry King and Marshall Pelle helpled start the CFT credit union and King served on QuEST from its start as the CFT Curriculum Council.

We won the fight for the right to collective bargaining. In Long Beach, unfortunately, we lost the campaign to be exclusive representative (251 to 1549). Under the leadership of Tom Fadgen and Jerry King the terms: collective bargaining, teacher power (aka empowerment), grievances, political action, militancy, solidarity, strike, reform, and a liberal social agenda have become an acceptable part of the professional dialogue. We did not , however, have time to teach the real meaning of the terms to more than twice our membership

Members Robert Kalman, Henry Legere, and Bob Ciriello could write a book on how to win grievances under an Association's contract which gives few rights to employees. No history of the local would be complete without a mention of member Judy Mednick, the first winner of the CFT's Women in Education Award for her academic freedom fight for the approval of her course Women and Men in Literature. LBFT working with Long Beach ACLU won this one.

(Jerry King, contributor)

# Oxnard Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 1273**
**Chartered 1955**

Ask any oldtimer in the union the question: Who creates new locals? All will answer "Administrators." For the Oxnard Federation of Teachers the answer is the same.

The local was started in 1955-56 during a tumultuous year. Two teachers were fired simultaneously for writing articles for a local newspaper. The superintendent at that time ran a school system in a super-autocratic fashion, but the numerous veterans from WWII and Korea were unwilling to accept such treatment. The discharge of these two articulate and popular teachers brought instantaneous mass meetings both day and night in protest of their discharges. The night meetings were "beach parties" in which the concept for forming an AFT local was generated. Most teachers at that time were neither CTA or AFT oriented but were supportive of the effort to resist the administrative denigration of teachers.

A vote of no-confidence for the superintendent by the faculty of Oxnard High School resulted in the trustee's decision not to renew the superintendent's contract at the end of the following year. Of the original chartered members only two, Benton Odum and George Bevans, are still shining examples to the new teachers that are arriving yearly.

Local 1273 languished after its original charter with 25-30 teachers paying dues; however, the CTA continued its "collective begging" and was the "bargaining agent," the AFT local, then called the "Ventura County Federation of Teachers," being the "watchdog" over the school district.

Though we celebrated the arrival of Collective Bargaining, our party was dampened somewhat by the thought of the work ahead. In the election on October 16, 1980, a new role was identified for the local. In a three to one election victory over the incumbent CTA/NEA chapter we won the right to represent all teachers, nurses, and librarians as the exclusive bargaining agent in the district. This writer was the local's treasurer, and the exact dues-paying membership was 44 teachers, this being in a district that had over 450 teachers with approximately 350 dues-paying members to the CTA/NEA! Our success was a result of personal contact and a reputation for honesty, dignity, and integrity.

The work didn't end with that success alone. On May 18, 1982, the local assumed additional leadership responsibilities in a two to one election victory over the incumbent chapter of the California School Employees Association. Our local won the right to represent all classified employees of the Oxnard Union High School District as their bargaining agent. In addition, we worked to obtain bargaining rights for all paraprofessionals and non-management employees. Counselors and psychologists were added to the group in 1986 making the Oxnard Federation the only local to enjoy wall-to-wall collective bargaining rights in the state of California.

And what do we have to share? Our local has more than doubled the salary schedule. From the maximum of $23,627 at the time of winning bargaining rights we now have a maximum of $44,869 plus $1500 for longevity, placing us in the top 10% of salaries in the state.

Some of the current highlights are the following: (a) a salary-fringe benefit formula assures us of approximately 66% of all district funds, (b) lottery money included in the formula with a 2% raise effective June 1 of this year, (c) teachers of elective classes (shop, home economics, art et. al.) will have parity of class size of 175 maximum student contacts daily without being "dumping grounds," (d) counselors and psychologists with same protections as teachers with guaranteed ratios, grievance rights, sabbaticals, and release from noon duties, (e) increased clerical help for faculty and nurses, (f) participation in the hiring process with OFT's designation of representatives on all certificated hiring committees, including teachers, counselors, deans, assistant principals, as well as the district office staff.

We have on-going negotiations with the district office at all times and work for all employees insuring that we will have positive results. We now have fringe benefits of complete medical, dental, vision, and life insurance coverage for all employees and dependents plus complete coverage upon retirement.

This year we kicked-off the year with an address by President Albert Shanker of the AFT, a fete and treat that brought many outsiders to our area and inspired many diffident people to see what can be done with courage, honesty, and dedication. This writer is proud of his 40 years of teaching and 32 years of continuous membership in the greatest group of professionals — the American Federation of Teachers.

(Bill Lundquist, contributor)

# Culver City Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 1343**
**Chartered 1958**

Chartered in 1958 by ten brave teachers, the Culver City Federation of Teachers, Local 1343, struggled for many years to gain teacher confidence and respect.

While it was true that the outstanding high school teachers were in the AFT (along with a few junior high teachers) it was not until 1970 that an elementary teacher joined. A sick-out at the high school only, in 1969, equalled a major revolution. A few of the teachers called in and said, "I'm on strike and proud of it!" Those probationary teachers joining in the early 60s joined as Mr. or Mrs. X for fear of not getting tenure.

*Jane Murray in 1974*

The advent of the Winton Act was a boon to CCFT. In 1973 a CCFT member, Jim Powell, became the chair of the CEC. Because of Jim's leadership on the Council; the newsletter put out by editor Cal Pitts; Cal's ex-wife Myrlene, an elementary teacher, who became the CCFT president; former presidents Pat Logsdon, Blanche Patton, Perry Polski, Gary Reidel, Larry Bordan; and other activists like Art Coopersmith, Jane Murray and many others, the CCFT beat CCTA in the first collective bargaining election in 1977 by one vote in a runoff. CCTA had three times the members of CCFT.

A super contract was negotiated, including binding arbitration, with Jim Powell steering things as chief negotiator. Phil Cott became the president and was highly respected by all.

Myrlene went on to join the AFT staff. The old AFT hard-liners started to retire. CTA had maintained a presence and 100 members (out of 350 teachers). And then Phil Cott left Culver City to practice law.

At about that time (1986-87) the CTA chapter launched a campaign for full fringe benefits for retirees, guaranteeing such coverage if they became the bargaining agent. This in the face of the district being financially penalized since 1972 with SB90, a steadily declining enrollment and Serrano.

Despite the excellent leadership of Diane Kaiser, who followed Phil Cott's presidency, the CTA filed cards in 1988 and won the election by promising a 10% raise each year for three years as well as retiree health benefits. During the eleven year reign of CCFT, CTA challenged two other times and were fended off.

New stars have taken over the CCFT leadership. David Mielke as president, Kent Gregory and other teachers more recently hired. Durable Jane Murray still hangs in and is a 110% contributor.

During the first year of CTA as bargaining agent, they negotiated a 4% salary increase, added 20 minutes to the work day along with other take-aways and, of course, did not get retiree benefits.

"CCFT will achieve bargaining agent status again in 1991." This positive and for sure quote originates with the CCFT executive council, and they mean it.

(Larry Bordan, contributor)

# El Camino College Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 1388**
**Chartered 1960**

One dark night sometime in 1960, a few faculty members from El Camino College, gathered together by Joe Collier and Earl O'Neill, met surreptitiously in a nearby bar with CFT rep. Hank Clarke. Primarily with a view to counterbalancing the CTA "company union" (which at that time included administrators) with a real labor union, this sedate albeit free-spirited group formed the first community college AFT local in California with the names of sixteen members appearing on a charter dated November 4, 1960.

Mike Pelsinger, our first president, found reading the flood of incoming mail from CFT and AFT his heaviest duty. Treasurers collected dues and kept minimal records. It should be noted too, that our original constitution was largely, if not exclusively, the work of Al Wrobel and that he had a hand in almost all subsequent revisions of or amendments to it.

During the local's first ten years or so, its chief role was that of a gadfly. It was the 1960s, after all—a time that exalted lobbying in Sacramento; there was little a teacher organization could do about traditional educational concerns. So-called business unionism, i.e., furthering the economic interest of our members, was impossible since it required recognition as the bargaining agent for the faculty—a legal status then impossible under California law. And so, turning our interests to broader issues, we practiced what was often called social unionism.

Spurred on by Irv Boxer and others, we acted as a sort of surrogate of the ACLU in fighting for the right of underground student newspapers to be sold on campus and our own right to use college bulletin boards. We supported anti-war protest. Most significantly, perhaps, under the leadership of Will Scoggins, we enlisted in the civil rights cause. Specifically, around 1962 we endorsed and participated in the picketing of a Torrance housing tract which refused to sell houses to blacks. That kind of concern persisted and in 1969 then President Myron Kennedy wrote an open letter asking for what amounted to an affirmative action program in view of the fact that there were no black clerical employees, counselors, or administrators and fewer than two percent of the student body was black.

***We practiced what was often called "social unionism"...***

During this period, two student organizations, Students Against the Draft and the Black Student Union, had a profile on campus, as did Students for a Democratic Society. There were anti-war rallies, teach-ins and BSU demands. The FBI had under-cover informants operating on campus and the John Birch Society exerted a noisy, disruptive presence at numerous community meetings. This was the raucous milieu in which our local raised, a bit cautiously, the banner of social change.

We then called that banner *Proof* and made it a newsletter. It was a name suggested by Dave Brady and an obvious take-off of the Faculty Association's PROF. When the first issue appeared, October 25, 1963, Irv was president and Chuck Sohner editor.

All of this changed in 1977 with the advent of collective bargaining. Against

all odds, but with the inadvertent help of administrators attempting intimidation, the Federation, under the charismatic leadership of Dick Schwarzman, overwhelmed the CTA by a vote of about two to one (although our membership was only about half theirs) to become the first community college local in California to win an election and negotiate a contract. We began almost immediately to prepare contract proposals for the beginning of formal negotiations with the district. Again, Dick was the leader in putting them together and it was assumed he would act as our chief negotiator. But cancer is no respecter of assumptions and soon Dick became very sick. It was in April, less than two weeks before negotiations were scheduled to begin, that the local's executive committee met and reluctantly, sadly designated Chuck Sohner for the role that was to have been Dick's. Helen Martin had been vice-president, never dreaming when first elected that she would succeed to the presidency under such tragic circumstances or at such a critical time. But succeed she did, in every sense of the word, and discharged her responsibilities with light-hearted grace and competence. When she, too, died of cancer, on November 7, 1983, our sadness was profound and the loss incalculable.

The ECCFT has remained the bargaining agent with only one abortive attempt at a decert by CTA; an election was never held. Relations with the administration and with the Board of Trustees have gradually improved over the years as the strength and ability of Federation leadership and the Federation's desire to not only further empower the faculty but also to enhance the quality of education at the college became apparent. Fewer than half a dozen grievances have gone to arbitration since 1977. We attribute this unusually low number to the strength and detail of our contract and the incredibly able Grievance Chairs who have served us over the ten year period, first Will Scoggins and then Gus Shackelford.

Over the years that the ECCFT has been the bargaining agent, the faculty has been well served by the most dedicated of individuals who have been Presidents. Peggy Ferro followed Helen Martin for a one year term, Gerry Karpel grew gray hair during her four year stint (followed by more gray hair and a few more wrinkles as Chief Negotiator for three years), Joe Georges served spectacularly as President for two years (and then as Negotiator for another three), Merrill Jones held the fort for three years, and now Lance Widman begins his presidency, with our thanks and best wishes that he stay young, healthy and handsome during his ordeal.

(Joe Collier (retired), Gerry Karpel, Chuck Sohner (retired), contributors)

***The FBI had undercover informants operating on campus and the John Birch Society exerted a noisy, disruptive presence at numerous community meetings.***

# Berkeley Faculty Union

## AFT Local 1474 Chartered 1963

Discussions leading to the formation of the University Federation of Teachers (UFT) were started in the spring of 1963 under the leadership of Joe Fountenrose. An organizing meeting was scheduled for October 21, 1963, and all members of professional status including lecturers, associates, supervisors and librarians were invited to attend. At that time Dr. Fountenrose was elected President and among the issues discussed were better medical insurance and housing plans for members of the faculty. The local was at this time operating under the name "Berkeley University Teachers Union" and had already obtained a charter (No. 1474) from the AFT.

In September of 1964 the local issued a statement of purpose which outlined a plan to promote the welfare and occupational interest of the faculty and staff. It was agreed that the union should stimulate a broad, continuing dialogue among Faculty members and with the Administration on the primary issues and policies accompanying the transformation of the University. Concern was expressed for preservation of conditions most encouraging and most nourishing for the inquisitive mind. Among the core issues discussed were: Improved faculty retirement system, a medical service administered by the University, and the establishment of a grievance procedure.

Above all the primary interest of the members has been the preservation and improvement of the Berkeley campus as an intellectual community. The quality of an intellectual community depends not only on the maintenance of faculty academic standards, but on such things as the climate of academic freedom on the campus, the extent of political freedom enjoyed by both students and faculty, the caliber of instruction at both undergraduate and graduate levels, the stimulation of original research, and, perhaps most important, faculty initiative in university affairs.

Non-Senate faculty (Lecturers, Supervisors of Teachers Education, Coordinators, etc.) rarely participated in AFT Local 1474 activities before 1980. But when the Higher Education Employer Employee Relations Act was finally voted into law by the state legislature in 1978, the Council immediately changed focus from lobbying to fighting in front of the Public Employment Relations Board to carve out a winnable statewide 2400-member collective bargaining unit. (The University fought the bargaining law and they fought to create un-winnable bargaining units.) The Council hired an organizer from the ranks of lecturers at Cal to launch an organizing campaign.

***Non-Senate faculty members are the braceros of the academic community.***

Non-Senate faculty members are the *braceros* of the academic community. 52% of the unit is women or minority, in contrast to the traditional white male Senate faculty. These young Ph.D.'s were as qualified as their older Senate colleagues had been at the same stage in their careers. But these young faculty were arbitrarily turned out or reduced to part-time by revolving-door policies. They had no rights or protections. They had no voice in the university community and no power to bargain, as individuals, better working conditions. More than 25% of the total faculty were barred from membership in the Senate.

A meeting of the non-Senate faculty was called. About 50 attended and established NASFOG, the Non-Academic Senate Faculty Organizing Group. This group provided the leadership for the state collective bargaining campaign. These activists strategized and blocked the University from increasing their courseload. They got a taste of what could be won by working collectively. They took UC to court before the Public Employment Relations Board and won back pay for hundreds of non-Senate faculty across the system and rescission of the rotating-door rules in the majority of departments at Cal. They delivered more than half of the statewide vote to defeat "no agent" 2 to 1 and elect the AFT exclusive bargaining representative for non-Senate faculty.

From this leadership group, Gerry Cavanaugh, Kathy Moran, and Nancy Elnor, are still teaching at Cal; they have been awarded 3-year contracts, a major concession won in bargaining the first contract ever between UC academics and the university. They continue to lead the local. Others who have contributed essential energies over the years include Harry Rubin, Frances Bloland, Nancy Ahearn, Jack London, Eldred Smith, Robert Martinson, Seymour Chatman, Charles Shein, Pete Steffens, Francis Gates, Joe Neilands, Kenneth Stampp, John Searle, Fred Stripp and Richard Strohman.

(Nancy Elnor, contributor)

# San Mateo Community College Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 1493 Chartered 1963

### The Formative Years: 1963-1968

AFT Local 1493 was founded in 1963 as the College of San Mateo Federation of Teachers by ten courageous faculty, led by Ed Andrews. The spark for the union's formation came from the District's decision to dramatically increase class size and the absence of any organization to protest this action.

Led by Andrews, Walter Leach, Gus Pagels and Ray Pflug as presidents, Local 1493 moved into active debate with the administration over teaching conditions and educational policy. It also won the reinstatement of two teachers, Singh and Tunzi, fired by the District under the new probationary dismissal law.

While attracting over 100 members by 1968, about 1/3 of the faculty, the Union's do-it-yourself activism frightened many faculty. The Senate's alternative was safe, albeit ineffective. The CTA waited in the wings, assuring its many members that it could resolve all problems through professionalism and expertise.

### District Tumult and Union Reorganization: 1968-1972

In 1968-9 Skyline and Cañada colleges opened and the District headquarters was moved. The faculty and student strikes at SF State and the faculty strike at San Jose State, along with CSM's Black students' demands for a beefed up Readiness Program, made unionism appear dangerous and membership plunged to about 40. President Terry Curren's success was in insuring the very survival of the organization.

Out of this setback came a number of steps forward. In 1969 President Ray Lorenzato began our tradition of district-wide flyers, helped form the CFT's Community College Council and called for district-wide union organization. One of his most important recruits was a new Cañada teacher, Pat Manning, who succeeded him as president. Union membership began to rebound.

The following year, the Union reorganized into its present structure, with a district-wide Executive Committee and three campus chapters. The dominant event of the year, however, was the tax election crisis. After voters rejected the tax proposition once, the second campaign was led by the District Business Manager under the slogan "Don't Close Colleges", referring to the threat to close Cañada and Skyline if it failed. AFT criticized the nature of the campaign, but faculty nevertheless had little choice but to comply and they made the difference in the positive outcome.

*Collective bargaining at last - the victory party.*

The AFT began to seriously analyze District budgets at this time and produced a report and a series of bulletins. The Local also successfully defended CSM instructor Larry Stewart, who was dismissed for his public utterances during the Cambodia invasion. 1493 went on to successfully propose a grievance procedure and address the problems of part-time faculty. The capper came when Pres. Manning bet the Chancellor a case of beer in the spring of 1972 that AFT's budget figures were closer to reality than the District's. When the bet was won, the local celebrated with the now-legendary "Chancellor's Beer Party". AFT had 100 members once more.

### The Approach of Collective Bargaining: 1972-1977

In 1972 the SMCTA, with the help of its statewide headquarters a few miles away in Burlingame, invoked the Winton Act to set up a Certificated Employees Council. The first CEC had 8 CTA reps and one AFT, but the Union gained one seat each year until in 1975 it was only a 5-4 split.

From 1972-4 John Kirk, a part-timer, was president. He had been full-time, but had been cut back and the District convinced him not to file for reinstatement — the last time Kirk ever made *that* mistake. He went on to become the chief grievance officer, and later negotiator, for the Local and to initiate a lawsuit with precedent-setting value when he finally won a full-time permanent job.

In 1974, Manning returned as president. While refusing to negotiate anything, the District cut the pay of day part-timers and dumped all the tentative agreements that had previously been made.

With the new collective bargaining law in place in 1975, the District still refused any significant negotiations and unilaterally made division chairs into administrators, while the faculty waited until November 1977 to vote for a bargaining representative. After it was finally decided that all part-timers would be part of the unit, which was AFT's position, Marge Murphy, a Cañada part-timer, managed AFT's campaign. The lively and contentious pink flyers were now replaced by the more professional



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*Advocate*, expertly edited by George Goth until 1988.

The election count was AFT 330, CTA 331 and in the run-off campaign, led by part-timer Bill Griffiths, AFT lost 407 to 357, partly due to the votes of part-timers who were day teachers in neighboring CTA districts.

**Perservence or Waiting in the Wings: 1978-1982**

When Prop. 13 passed and the CTA's initial one-year contract expired, the Board made drastic cuts, including rescinding all sabbatical leaves. Under Betty Kaupp, the Union carefully did nothing to undermine the bargaining agent, but continued to publish the *Advocate*. CTA, the following year, brought back a disastrous contract. The faculty ratified it despite losing all sabbaticals, past practice guarantees and weakening the grievance procedure.

The Union continued its ultimately successful part-timers' suit, secured representation for summer school faculty and, in 1981, announced its intention to challenge CTA. The decert campaign was quiet by contrast, mainly consisting of *Advocate* articles and one-on-one contacts. The Local did not gain votes, but the CTA lost them massively. The final vote was 350 to 300. Pat Manning, in his final act as president, presented AFT's bargaining proposals to a newly polite and attentive Board of Trustees.

**Taking Responsibility: 1982-1989**

With Betty Kaupp as chief negotiator, the Union bargained some improvements in the first contract for 1982-3 and began the long process of uniting the faculty after years of internecine battles. The process of winning over the CTA members and the uncommitted was led by President Joe McDonough, a demon recruiter whom full-timers at CSM ignored at their peril.

The CTA, in May, 1984, made a last stab to regain bargaining rights. But excellent work had been accomplished by McDonough and Presidents Bill Griffiths and Rudy Sanfilippo after him. Together with grievance wizard and chief negotiator John Kirk, they had made AFT stronger and the CTA was defeated soundly, 364 to 271. The union hired its first paid local staff, Fred Glass, who had been a member of the union's executive committee as a part-timer and then fulltimer at CSM. The Union, thus bolstered with an Executive Secretary, embarked upon consolidation.

Local 1493 negotiated office space at CSM along a corridor of faculty offices housing a number of union activists. The local bought a computer. It expanded its committee structure, creating a retirement committee with Herman Bates as chair; a part-timers' committee with Henry Quan and then Michelle LaPlace and Ron Smith breathing new life into the old struggle; an affirmative action commitee led by Pat Deamer; and a newsletter committee (it took a whole committee!) to replace George Goth as editor of the *Advocate*, with Eric Brenner in charge, assisted by Bernie Gershenson. Anita Fisher, Elizabeth Burdash and Gladys Chaw formed a health and safety committee. The union also formed several joint committees with the administration — a far cry from the early days of intransigent District-union relations. There was never a shortage of helping hands for folding and addressing faculty communications along the corridor of building 15 at CSM.

A major campaign was begun in 1986 to improve conditions for part-timers, which finally resulted in serious negotiations with the District late in 1988, but not until faculty had packed two Board meetings demanding action. In 1986 AFT initiated a claim for tenure and back pay for 11 part-time English composition instructors, a case still pending in mid-1989. The gala dinner celebration of 1493's first 25 years, held in fall of 1988 under the leadership of new President Steve Ruis, promised to start a new chapter in the history of the local.

That promise was immediately fulfilled in the spring of 1989. New Executive Secretary Joe Berry led a "full membership campaign" with AFT staffer Clair Norman. With the phonebanking assistance of dozens of full- and part-time faculty, over 100 new members were brought into the union, strengthening the entire faculty.

*Faculty and students jam board meeting for part-timers reform*

AFT 1493's story shows that diversity is not insurmountable if open democratic processes and a consistent emphasis on unity are pursued. With this, and regular advocacy for faculty, the success of AFT's version of militant teacher unionism is assured.

(Joe Berry, John Kirk, Pat Manning, contributors)

# AFT College Guild

**AFT Local 1521**
**Chartered 1964**

Genesis of the AFT College Guild was a divorce. It was mostly friendly, although there were those who objected to the splitting of the college teachers from Los Angeles Local 1021 of the 18,000-teacher K-14 district. A committee within 1021 met in 1964 at the home of Hy Weintraub, who went on to become the first executive secretary of the college local. By the time the charter banquet was held on January 15, 1965, some 200 names were recognized as charter members.

Presentation of a program for the colleges by an organization composed of college teachers and devoted solely to their interests brought an immediate increase in members, a growth that continued into the Age of Collective Bargaining. It was seen early on that a separate union for teachers was not enough—there had to be a separate district for the colleges. Measure after legislative measure for separation died in committee or in one house or the other before one finally passed. Don Anderson, the Guild's second president (1966-68), recalls campaigning for its passage and the difficulty we had in getting a decent Board of Trustees elected from what seemed like hundreds of candidates for the seven offices. The Guild briefed and worked for some candidates like Jerry Brown, but a rabidly right wing majority prevailed.

Even before they were seated this majority set the scene for controversy by demanding the firing of two English teachers who had read a poem that contained some words some members of the community considered less than fit for society. This issue wasn't words but academic freedom, and the Guild waded in with a fight that finally restored the teachers to their classrooms.

Anderson was president for the last two years with the unified district and took over the executive secretaryship for one year under the third president, the late Robert Ruhl (1968-70) as the district was separated.

Hy Weintraub returned as executive secretary and pushed hard for unity among teachers as it became evident that the Winton Act Certificated Employee Council gave no power to the faculty. "It was a charade of bargaining," says Weintraub, who met some success with officers of the L.A. College Teachers Association (CTA) toward merger. "At the last minute," says Weintraub, the CTA put pressure on its college organization to turn down the merger. The shift to the Guild then intensified."

***"The fecklessness of the Winton Act, the bad faith of the radical majority of the Board, and the rigid and hostile attitude of the central administration were all in evidence in one 'meet and confer' session. Once again the message was driven home: collective bargaining."***

During the first years of the new Board of Trustees, teachers were appalled over the intense fighting and bickering among its factions. Jean Trapnell, an English teacher who later was named to the State Board of Governors by the then Governor Jerry Brown, started taking what someone called "mercilessly detailed" notes and transcribing them for a newsletter sent to all teachers. What became famous were the quotes at the end of each letter under the heading, "Sacred Sayings." The Guild took over the distribution of the newsletter and in

1970 issued a little calender booklet with the same title and a selection of sayings. A sample:

- "We must review past mistakes and build upon them." (Mike Antonovich)
- "This is a wonderful example of what can be done in a democracy, that someone can stand up in this meeting and make the statement he just made and not go to prison or a firing squad." (Marian LaFollette)
- "A little censorship doesn't hurt." (Antonovich)
- "If you don't have updated copies of the agenda, please refer to them." (LaFollette)

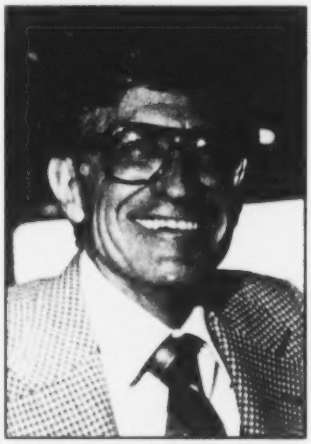
The booklet became a collector's item.

In 1970 the Guild elected a long-time faculty leader, the late Arnold Fletcher, to the presidency (1970-79). Weintraub continued as executive secretary for another two years, retiring after the Guild had reached a thousand members. His place was taken in 1972 by Virginia Mulrooney, who as assistant executive secretary had started the long-running publication, *Read On*, a newsletter that provided full coverage and excellent writing by a long series of such unbylined writers as Bill Doyle.

*Hy Weintraub (Irwin photo)*

In 1972 the Guild for the first time passed L.A. CTA in membership on the Certificated Council, which then named Fletcher president. *Read On* said it all: "The fecklessness of the Winton Act, the bad faith of the radical majority of the Board, and the rigid and hostile attitude of the central administration were all in evidence in one 'meet and confer' session. Once again the message was driven home: collective bargaining."

Guild membership grew even more rapidly in preparation for the CB vote: 1208 in 1973, 1433 in 1974, and 1770 in 1975, compared with LACTA's 1188 in the same year, the time of the passage and signing of the bill by Governor Brown.



*Eddie Irwin (Shannon photo)*

The Guild filed on April 1, 1976 with 58% of the teaching staff, but constant stalling by LACTA blocked a vote until January, 1977. The final vote: Guild 1996, LACTA 1617, no rep 217. Despite a challenge of the results, the Guild became the sole bargaining agent for the LACCD.

President Fletcher and chief negotiator Mulrooney led the team through months of sometimes frustrating but ultimately rewarding work to come up with a contract that was ratified by the membership the day before Christmas vacation, 1977. Called "one of the finest contracts in higher education," the document provided for a retroactive pay raise, cost of living adjustment, elected department chairs, lecture-lab equivalency, binding and advisory arbitration, tuition reimbursement fund, consultation prior to changing any rule, unlimited half-pay sabbaticals, paid parental leave, and a three-year contract.

Within three years of the contract salaries went up more than 23%, but the shadow of Prop. 13 grew longer and darker. At first its effects were felt with the cancellation of summer school, the refusal to expand classes, then the cutting back of positions, particularly among part-timers. It was to get much worse.

In the spring of 1978 the Guild suffered another blow when Arnold Fletcher suffered a stroke, which forced him to resign in September of 1979. Cedric Sampson (1979-82) was elected the fifth president. Mulrooney remained at her post until Sampson resigned to take a study sabbatical. She then took the CEO power that had resided with the executive secretary to the presidency (1982-83). Jim Hardesty became executive secretary.

One of the primary goals of Mulrooney's term was the inclusion of the technical-clerical classified employees as a unit of the Guild, which won their election in 1983 and brought about a reversal of the decline in membership because of the loss of teachers. Barbara Kleinschmitt and Sandra Lepore led the Staff Guild. (See separate story.) The next year Mulrooney accepted the position of vice-chancellor of the L.A. Community College District, and Marty Hittelman, her vice-president, became president. The next election saw the hardest-fought campaign in the history of the Guild, with Hal Fox (1984-88) winning over Marty Hittelman, who, a year later, took over the executive secretaryship from Hardesty.

During this period the Guild went through its most traumatic period as the administration and board determined they could "revitalize" the district by firing 143 permanent teachers. A "hit list" was drawn up by the Personnel Division according to priority within a discipline, with ties being decided and careers wiped out with the luck of the draw. Disciplines that had high class averages were nevertheless declared

overstaffed. And it was the universal perception among teachers that as chief negotiator for the administration Virginia Mulrooney worked as hard to destroy the contract as she had as a union leader to build it.

Teachers were insulted and demeaned at hearings and felt they were on trial for being fired. Teachers appeared *en masse* at the downtown headquarters of the board, only to have the administration call the police.

March 15 letters were sent out with the blunt words, "your services will not be required in 1986-87." Fifty-nine other teachers retired or resigned, not to be replaced, and 200-300 hourly rate teachers were affected by the upheaval.

Sadly, the emotional trauma, the damage to the educational program, and the bitterness need not have happened at all. The Guild, fighting back on every front — political, demonstrations, press, legal — showed that WSCH averages were not that threatening, that the budget was not really as dry as the administration pictured, and that the whole mess was a political ploy. Gradually, names were taken off the list as transfers to other disciplines took place and reductions were challenged. Only two teachers have not regained their teaching posts.

In 1988 Gwen Hill, former vice-president and chief negotiator, defeated Fox for the presidency. She had spent 5 1/2 years as a national representative for the AFT. Sylvia Lubow remains as vice-president, and Alice Clement is executive secretary.

Space has not permitted a full discussion of several activities that have continued over the years, such as the resolution of grievances. In the first year of the contract, for example, the Guild handled more than 200 grievances, cut down to 30 the next year as the administration learned to live within the contract. A long list of able grievance reps includes Hy Weintraub, Art Avila, Bill Doyle, Sylvia Lubow, Kaye Dunagan, Gwen Hill, and the current Leon Marzillier.

In budget matters Bernie Friedman and Phil Clarke proved most valuable, while in health and welfare and political campaign activities, assistant executive secretary Art Forcier has excelled forever. Connie Rey has been performing valuable service as legislative advocate and field rep. *Read On*, currently edited by Darrell Eckersley, has been a vital cog in the operation of the Guild, which has also turned out a steady stream of other publications, including a yearly report often called "What Have We Done for You Lately?" and several booklets on retirement, grievances, part-timers, and benefits, as well as volumes of flyers and brochures during the many political campaigns for the Board of Trustees. The first president of the Guild has kept out of trouble by designing and producing most of these publications for these 25 years of Guild history.

As the Guild looks toward its second quarter of century of service, it expects that the issues of the '90s and beyond will be no less challenging than those we've met before.

(Eddie Irwin, contributor)

***Teachers were insulted and demeaned at hearings and felt they were on trial for being fired. Teachers appeared en masse at the downtown headquarters of the board, only to have the administration call the police.***

# AFT Staff Guild

## AFT Local 1521 Established 1982

During its 25 year history, the AFT College Guild, Local 1521, evolved into the second largest AFT/CFT local in California. In 1982, the local and national AFT organized a decertification election for the Clerical/Technical Unit I employees of the Los Angeles Community College District. "It was time for the Clerical/Technical Unit to be better represented and we felt AFT could do the job best," states Dick Contoni, classified activist, who helped make the guild victorious. At that time, Unit I was represented by the California School Employees Association (CSEA) and was the only unit in the LACCD not represented by an AFL/CIO union.

Among the many responsible for victory, special thanks went to classified employees Birt Tidwell, Jeanne Bascom, Jon Jon Stirrat, Mimi Cooper and Aba Maccani and then Guild President Virginia Mulrooney, Jim Hardesty, Gwen Hill, Chuck Dirks, Marty Hittelman, Don Misumi, Joe Hinijosa, and Enid Diamond from the faculty unit. Campaign workers were assigned from Detroit, Connecticut, and California (Elaine Meyers and Sandra Lepore). Classified and faculty recall the campaign unity and the tense moments during the ballot count. United, both groups joyfully celebrated the AFT victory. Local 1521 was certified the bargaining agent for the unit on August 23, 1983.

The AFT College Guild was the first AFT/CFT community college faculty local in California to include classified brothers and sisters. The newly formed Staff Guild continues to be the largest unit of community college classified employees in California, currently representing 870 Clerical Technical employees. The organization of the classified unit into Local 1521 set a precedent for organizing other classified units within community colleges in California.

The College Guild appointed Sandra Lepore as Executive Secretary-Treasurer for the new unit. "My marching orders were clear", recalls Lepore. "The first order of business was to launch a membership drive and almost immediately hundreds of new members were signed up." The staff boasts of its outstanding early recruiters particularly Aba Maccani and Lyse Garland.

In October 1983 the first election of chapter chairs/delegates and alternates for the Staff Guild Executive Board was held. On November 15 the Staff Guild elected Barbara Kleinschmitt President,

*First Staff Guild negotiating team signs contract with Board (Bob Crosby photo)*

Birt Tidwell Vice President, and Jeanne Bascom Secretary. Among the first elected chapter chairs for the staff were Tim Hague, Richard Contoni, Gwen Bowens, Wanda Piekarski, Lois Osborne, Wylene Hill, Patricia Westmoreland, Irene Jusko, Lois Bolbecher and Gene Osuagwu.

Local 1521 office staff Lil Skovran, Lil Elman and Reyna Martinez provided initial support for the new unit. Professional staff Art Forcier, Jim Hardesty, and Paul Worthman assisted in representing the unit members. By December of 1983 Aundrea Douglas was hired as the Secretary for the Staff Guild.

Faculty members came forward to act as mentors to help support the efforts of the new classified leadership. Kaye Dunagan, Faculty Guild Assistant Executive Secretary, Grievances, assisted the Staff Guild with grievances. One of the first victories for the staff was to win a dismissal hearing for a classified employee who was wrongfully discharged. Among the first set of grievance activists from the classified ranks were Bette Lieber, Eva Lawrence, Gloria Wilmot (current Assistant Executive Secretary, Grievances), Daryl Goodman, Angela Hernandez, Deborah Odum, Sunny Frantz, and Bunnie Kimble. More recent activists include Renee Stampolis, Lynn Apodaca, Roland Jones and Charlotte Saldick.

In 1983 the District moved to layoff 500 classified employees. With the assistance of the faculty, the Staff Guild filed lawsuits and an unfair labor charge against the District. "Save the 500" became the battle cry at worksites and at the Board of Trustee meetings where rank and file classified and faculty demonstrated and protested. The 500 layoffs were rescinded.

All the while the Staff Guild was working on its first three-year contract with faculty guild Vice President Marty Hittelman serving as chief negotiator. Upon the departure of Guild President Virginia Mulrooney, Hittelman assumed the role of acting Guild President. From September of 1983 until November of 1984 the negotiating team worked to achieve a contract. That agreement was hailed by many as the premiere classified contract in the country, bringing classified employees into the modern era of collective bargaining. The team and the classified unit are forever grateful to chief negotiators Hittelman and Gwen



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## Save the 500!

Hill for the solidarity they displayed with their classified brothers and sisters.

By 1984/85 the Staff Guild had achieved 80% membership and negotiated agency shop. In Spring of 1984, Hal Fox was elected President of the local. Kleinschmitt was reelected President of the Staff Guild (and has been reelected since) along with Arlo Coker, Vice President and Lydia D'Amico Secretary.

During that period, Kleinschmitt was appointed to the National AFT Paraprofessional/ School Related Personnel Committee (PSRP), was elected President of the Council of Classified Employees CCE/CFT and a Vice President of the CFT, became an officer of CLUW, and was appointed to the UCLA Labor Center Advisory Board. These accomplishments signified the acceptance of classified employees within our affiliates. Kleinschmitt became notorious as the advocate for classified issues.

In 1985/86 the Board of Trustees moved once more to lay off classified employees. Once again staff and faculty demonstrated and protested. On January 1, 1986, 13 Unit I employees were laid off. The AFT Staff Guild negotiated a severance grant, recall rights/procedures, and retraining options for the affected employees. After the layoff, the Guild continued to represent those laid off and were able to achieve offers of reemployment (through unfair labor charges and other means) for all but three (action on their behalf still pending). The current three year contract, 1987-1990, includes retraining options with tuition reimbursement for employees impacted by the layoffs of 1986.

The 1985/86 reopeners were characterized by a tight budget but the Staff Guild did successfully negotiate a one hour lunch, and a 37 1/2 hour work week for classified employees. That same year, Roland Jones became the new Vice President, Vivian Stokes was elected the first Treasurer, and Jeanne Bascom again served the union as Secretary.

The next struggle was to prevent faculty layoffs. Dissatisfied with the Board of Trustees, the guild became involved in one of the most heated trustee elections in the District's history. The guild endorsed and elected three new Board members, Wallace Knox, David Lopez Lee, and Julia Wu and defeated two incumbent Board members who had voted for layoffs. Guild-supported incumbent Hal Garvin was also victorious. Through that process, Lois Camarillo and Armond Keith became the COPE activists for the staff.

Since it became the bargaining agent in 1983, the Staff Guild negotiated salary increases, improved health benefits, ensured a safer work environment, and developed retraining and study opportunities. The union also created career opportunities, such as coordinating union/management involvement in a reclassification study with rank and file participation on the committee (Penny Miller, Helen Beaird, and Dick Contoni are the AFT Unit I representatives; Bill Callahan, CFT representative, has invaluably served as consultant). The Guild has generated a climate of increased respect for classified employees throughout the district.

*Faculty and staff celebrate Board of Trustees election victory, 1987 (Bob Crosby photo)*

The 1987-90 contract furthered the goals of the AFT. With a more responsive Board of Trustees and the hard work of Co-Chief Negotiators Kleinschmitt and Lepore, and team members Marietta Martin, Mike Romo, Gloria Wilmot, Abbie Ramirez, Ethel Posner, Wylene Dill, Helen Beaird, Brenda Sopher, and Dorothy Rupert, the classified collective bargaining agreement was again improved.

In 1988, Kleinschmitt and Jones continued in their leadership positions. Lydia D'Amico and Virve Leps were elected treasurer and secretary respectively. Chapter leaders elected were Tom Graham, Penny Miller, Jacki Thornton, Abbie Ramirez, Joanne Koenig, Barbara Stephens, Helen Beaird, Irene Jusko and Tonia Agron. Lepore continued in her position of Executive Secretary for the unit. Gwen Hill became the president of the local, reaffirming her support for the classified unit.

Currently, the staff is working on the revision of the District's Sexual Harassment Policy, negotiating policy/procedures for the safe and healthful use of Video Display Terminals, proposing a wellness program, and researching child care options.

The Clerical/Technical Unit has now achieved a level of professionalism and work standards that enables increased job satisfaction. With nearly 90% membership (which earned a National AFT membership award in 1988/89) the staff can go on record as "trying to do what every strong union does...to organize and educate and then to represent ourselves."

(Sandra Lepore, contributor)



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# State Center Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 1533
## Chartered 1964

Today recognized as a stable, innovative, responsible, and thriving AFT local, Local 1533 was born out of a statewide turmoil over the free speech rights battle of Jack Owens, a teacher in the Lassen County junior college system. Owens' letters criticizing the local education system were published in a Lassen County newspaper, and he was fired by his school board. A tenured teacher, Owens demanded a Superior Court hearing. Instead of defending its member, the California Teachers Association justified the local superintendent's and school board's action by insisting Owens had betrayed their (CTA's) highly arbitrary Code of Ethics.

Against these powers, Owens fought his case, exhausting his funds, losing a lower court battle and finally, in 1962, winning his case (against his own union!) in an overturn ruling by the 3rd District Court of Appeals. FCC teachers Dave Hendrickson, Noel Frodsham, and Franz Weinshenck met on October 30, 1962 in Manchester School (City College was part of the unified district at the time) with CTA state president James Williamson. The FCC teachers carried a demand from their faculty club, whose members urged the Fresno Teachers Association to censure CTA for its behavior in the case. Three fiery debates, with Owens facing his accusers in an open forum for the first time since the 1958 firings, ensued. Ultimately the FTA Council declined to censure the CTA, but the CTA's claim on the loyalties of Fresno area teachers, especially those at FCC, had been considerably weakened.

Hendrickson, Frodsham, Weinshenck and the others had made their point, and amidst the storm of the Owens case, Local 1533, affilated with the AFT and the California Federation of Teachers, was born with ten charter members. Its official charter was dated 1964.

Though from the onset Local 1533 enjoyed high regard among faculty interested in the fight for teachers' rights, its membership growth was slow. But the success of the local was inevitable, given the quality of early members like Hendrickson, Frodsham, Carl Waddle, Yolanda Statham, Maurice Van Gerpen, Robert Merz and others who impressed their faculty colleagues with their understanding of the issues of most importance to teachers and by the energy with which they pursued teachers' rights in the days before state law provided teachers' union organizers with much power or protection. These were founders who were active in all aspects of professionalism at (then) SCJCD, serving in senate, grievance hearings, and salary negotiations committees.

Many early members of the Local asked that their names be kept a secret, and it is a tribute to the courage of the earlier organizers of the local, teachers like Maurice Fitzpatrick and Bill Reynolds, that they would risk earning the displeasure of their "superiors" by openly admitting their membership and fighting for their rights. Perhaps the fears of the "anonymous" members were not entirely unfounded. As late as 1964, instructors at College of the Sequoias were threatened with firing because they had joined AFT.

The pages of *The Federalist* from 1964 through 1977, when membership was less than half that of the CTA local, resound with the eloquent writing of Local 1533 members like Terry Scambray, Gerry Stokle, Jim Piper, Charles Lynes, Carl Waddle, Mary McFarland and others on a range of topics from freedom of speech and censorship to class size and fair pay and benefits. Throughout those years *The Federalist* developed into the voice of faculty concerns. From 1964 until now, one can find articles and letters to *The Federalist* from more than two hundred teachers (many of them CTA members) and comments and notes from many more. When the Board or administration failed to disseminate vital information to the faculty, AFT Local 1533 did, often to the discomfort of authorities bent on hiding administrative practices from the faculty.

It is interesting to note that the local was always eager to help teachers in their professional struggles. In 1970-71, for instance, one finds the local supporting Joan Newcomb (long-time AFT member and 1988 winner of the Hayward Award for teaching excellence and leadership) in her formal grievance procedure against unfair working conditions in the district. The records show the bill for legal costs of this case came to $85.00. Given the local's average case-by-case expenses in support of dozens of teachers' grievances in the last twelve years, that doesn't seem like much, but for the still-young local it was a large sum.

With all this service to the faculty, it is not surprising that when the collective bargaining election came in 1977, the faculty of the district voted overwhelming for AFT's Local 1533. At the time of the election there were 214 certificated employees in the (then) SCJCD, and 140 were CTA members.

On May 12th, 1977, when AFT Local 1533 President Don Wren filed his petition for the local to be designated exclusive representative for the full-time staff, he turned in the names of 59% of the full-time teachers in the district. Many CTA members wanted CFT to represent them in the tough negotiating battles ahead.

In the subsequent election, the AFT won over sixty-seven percent of the

vote. The hard work and dedication of the early members of the local had paid off. Now the hard work of negotiating contracts with a recalcitrant board and administration began. In the next few years Local 1533 presidents and negotiators like Jim Ruston and Harold Sadler would face the task of establishing the union as a powerful and professional defender of teachers' rights both in and out of collective bargaining sessions.

The first post-Rodda Act president was Don Wren, who was instrumental in building the Union in the transitional years before and after collective bargaining. The first negotiating team included Jim Ruston, Celia Maldonado, Tom Keefe, and Jim Phillips (who has served on every subsequent team). The highlight of our first contract was being one of the first districts in the state to get binding arbitration of grievances.

In 1978, after Proposition 13 passed, the District sent lay-off notices to over seventy tenured employees. These faculty members were represented by Federation attorneys in lenghty lay-off hearings, which resulted in all of the teachers' jobs being saved. Not so coincidentally, Federation membership rose by nearly 20%, as grateful faculty saw the value and the need for Union representation.

The late seventies and early eighties were marked by strong adversarial relations between the Federation and an anti-collective bargaining Board of Trustees. Picketing, board meeting demonstrations, and fact finding were common occurrences during marathon negotiation periods. Fiery Federation President Harold Sadler was an unrelenting activist on behalf of faculty, and John Peterson, Loren Gaither, Wren, Phillips, Maurice Van Gerpen, and Tom Tyner, along with Sadler, became year-around negotiators. Sadler was succeeded as President by Van Gerpen, who, with skill and integrity, led the Federation and faculty through times of double-digit inflation and continuing anti-union Board sentiment.

***Many early members of the Local asked that their names be kept a secret...***

1984 marked a turning point in Union-District relations as the Federation, led by President Tom Tyner and the Executive Council, launched an all-out campaign to change the make-up of the Board of Trustees. Supporting excellent trustee candidates Warren Kessler and Willie Smith, the Federation raised over $20,000 in campaign money and ran a highly sophisticated direct mail campaign, which resulted in victories for Kessler and Smith and the ouster of two prominent anti-collective bargaining board members. It was the biggest political victory in the history of the Federation and precipitated the gradual positive changes in relations among faculty, management, and the board which are continuing to this day.

The last four years have been good ones for the Federation. With inflation slowed, faculty are finally enjoying some negotiated salary gains beyond the cost of living. Local 1533 has become an acknowledged state leader in negotiating excellent retirement plans, including District-paid benefits, for retiring employees. Federation-supported candidates have continued to be elected to the Board of Trustees, and thirty new faculty members have joined Local 1533 in the last two years. The Federation is also the first local in the state to co-sponsor educational workshops with its district, providing "Writing Across the Curriculum," "Reading Across the Curriculum," and "Critical Thinking" workshops in the last three years.

Finally, new leadership in the Federation has emerged in the past few years, with members like Paul Kaser, Richard Valencia, Linda Albright, Allen Beck, Ed Perkins, Art Amaro, Tanya Liscano, and Jim Studebaker serving the faculty tirelessly and well. And the "old guard" like Wren, Phillips, and Van Gerpen continue their involvement, setting high standards of dedication, perseverance, and selflessness, and providing a continuity that has helped Local 1533 work effectively for State Center faculty for thirteen years. They have earned a special place in our history and in our hearts.

(Tom Tyner, Paul Kaser, contributors)

***When the Board or administration failed to disseminate vital information to the faculty, AFT Local 1533 did, often to the discomfort of authorities bent on hiding administrative practices from the faculty.***

# Peralta Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 1603
## Chartered 1965

The Peralta Federation of Teachers represents over 800 full and part time faculty at four colleges: Laney, Alameda, Merritt and Vista. A fifth college, Feather River, was deannexed in 1988. The PFT was founded in 1965 by a group of faculty who were deeply influenced by the issues of the decade: civil rights; free speech; Vietnam. "When we started," noted Jerry Herman, one of the early PFT presidents "we were all under 30; we were the young turks." Shirley Nedham, PFT's first president, recalls "we collected money for the farmworkers; we went to Delano; we sat in the fog at Port Chicago to protest the war in Vietnam."

In those early years, compensation and workload issues were handled by the faculty senate. PFT spoke to the broader social and political issues.

Things changed in the 1970's. A new chancellor, Tom Fryer, and the passage of the Winton Act, were key events in this change. Faculty needed a different kind of representation and advocacy during the Fryer years and the Winton Act provided the forum for the PFT to move into this role. A Certificated Employees Council was established and representatives from the faculty met with the district on a regular basis. Membership in CEC was proportional to the number of members in each organization. Therefore employee organizations actively sought new members. PFT always had the most, but CTA and an independent group also had representatives. None of the employee groups, however, liked the CEC because it had no power. Administration could and did whatever it wanted to do.

To respond to the new era PFT expanded its operations. Roger Newman who became president in 1972 set out to modify the direction of the union. "I had one helluva time with the perception of the union," he said. "It's one thing to rally around social issues and another to really represent the faculty." PFT hired its first Executive Secretary, Ed Walker, in 1972. Ed recalls that "the whole union at that time was in a box. I mean it, a cardboard box, all the files. We couldn't afford an office; the treasurer just said no."

*PFT members demonstrate for their first contract*

PFT sought to expand its support within the faculty by organizing part time temporary instructors. Walker was assigned the task and within a year PFT had an active part timer committee within its ranks and a separate group which worked outside the PFT.

There was a great deal of agitation about the issue of the abuse and exploitation of part time faculty which culminated in the filing of a lawsuit against the district for equal pay and tenure for all part time faculty. One of the PFT presidents during the 1970s, Bernardo Garcia Pandavenes noted "I used to call the part-timers the farmworkers of the district." Mark Greenside, who became PFT president in 1987, was a part-timer in the 1970s and one of the organizers of part-time faculty: "The suit sent shock waves through the state as each college faculty and administration began to understand the import of the action. Locals of the AFT began organizing their part time faculty and agitating on the issue of equal pay and tenure before their local boards of trustees."

Finally the California Supreme Court resolved in favor of tenure and equal pay for a limited number of Peralta part timers, a total of 26 and a few hundred in other community college districts in the state. The Peralta suit did not bring justice to the thousands of part timers who work for low wages under lousy conditions, but it did galvanize faculty throughout the state. In the wake of the Peralta suit locals were able to negotiate wage increases; seniority for part timers in one district; and pro-rated fringe benefits in other districts. PFT won an agreement with the trustee board for a limited pro-rata salary system for part-timers.

PFT also won the right for part-time faculty to have full voting rights in all bargaining unit elections (now known as the "Peralta presumption" by the Public Employment Relations Board).

Jenette Golds presided over the PFT as president during the period 1976 to 1980 which included the collective bargaining election years of 1978 and 1979. The Executive Secretary was LeRoy Votto. They were "frantic years" according to Golds, fraught with tension be-

tween faculty groups as well as two collective bargaining elections. PFT almost won in the first election but a runoff was needed to resolve the question. PFT won by more than two to one.

The passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 and the election of PFT as the exclusive bargaining agent in 1979 thrust the union in to a new era, one of layoffs, conflict and political action.

During the next eight years PFT had to negotiate and administer the collective bargaining agreement in the face of six different attempts to lay off tenured faculty. Despite the devastating effects on the morale of the faculty, the PFT led a series of successful legal and political actions to defeat the layoffs. Over 150 tenured faculty received layoff notices but less than five faculty are still on layoff status. While faculty were facing an annual spring blood ritual the administration and trustees came under increasingly heavy attacks for ineptitude and cronyism.

The administration of Donald Godbold had started in 1979, just as PFT became the exclusive bargaining agent. Godbold, like his predecessors, operated from a top down perspective and was not open to criticism from his faculty or staff. As Peralta staggered toward the abyss of fiscal and political bankrupcy the faculty looked toward PFT for leadership.

These were the years of the presidency of Michael Mills, Fran White and Bill Henderson, all of whom worked long and hard for the faculty and the entire institution. Bob Gabriner became the Executive Secretary of PFT in 1979 and provided the organizational backup for the union. Later Gabriner went on to become the President of the CFT's Community College Council. The CCC had been founded in the 1970's by a group of faculty who included former PFT President Ned Pearlstein. Jeanette Golds had headed the Council for a term in the late 1970's.

During the four year tenure of Bill Henderson things began to change. The decision to create a Political Action Committee and to run PFT's own candidate for Board of Trustees, former President Fran White, was a historic turning point. While White lost to an incumbent, PFT showed it had both organizational and financial resources to compete in trustee elections. With the help of Assemblyman Tom Bates, PFT pressured the Peralta trustees to adopt a local district area form of elections instead of at-large elections. As a result, six of the current seven trustees were PFT-supported candidates.

Also in this period the PFT led militant actions of the faculty. It sponsored a vote of no confidence against the Chancellor and administration; it led the fight for increased pay with a series of sickouts which closed three colleges during 1985 contract negotiations; it led marches, picketlines and rallies against layoffs, for more salary adjustments, for reform of the district.

"In retrospect," notes Bob Gabriner, "we were a traditional union seeking more and better things for our faculty. But because of the crisis of management and finance in Peralta, we were thrust into a position of advocating not just for ourselves but for everyone in the institution. The union became a vehicle for reforming the entire district because no one else would do it."

Now (1989), Peralta has a new Chancellor, many new administrators and a renewed commitment to cooperative relations between the district and faculty and staff. The fiscal crisis has abated and enrollment has begun to grow thanks in part to a PFT-initiated special program for working adults (PACE).

(Bob Gabriner, Helen Worthen, contributors)

***"...we were thrust into a position of advocating not just for ourselves but for everyone in the institution. The union became a vehicle for reforming the entire district because no one else would do it."***

# United Professors of Marin

## AFT Local 1610 Chartered 1965

Early records of the United Professors of Marin reflect a handful of dues-paying members who began getting together in the early nineteen sixties. But this situation did not last long. Our slightly shopworn Charter shows that the College of Marin Chapter of AFT Local #1610 received a baptismal certificate on June 26, 1965, which names Robert Becklund, T. Howell Breece, R.C. Conrad, Jack L. Macaulay, Margaret D. Greene, Howard R. Blair, Gerald F. Buroni, Harry J. Crotty, Michael P. Hansen, Paul Miller, Edwin L. Braun, Irene Clark, Maryjane Dunstan, James L. Heig and John H. Myers as grantees of the Charter and which lists James J. O'Keefe, Samuel Schwartz, Leonard Weiss, Virginia O. Philbrick, Larry Snyder, Doris Whalen, William H. Scalapino and Cornelius B. Weber as the Charter Members of AFT Local No. 1610.

Tom Place, former UPM president and still a math teacher at CoM, recalls the period of the late sixties and early seventies when the College of Marin, like campuses all over the country, was seething over the Viet Nam War. Place was part of a group composed of Dunstan, Bob Flynn and Berkeley Johnson that had informally organized themselves to try to deal with the concerns of students, particularly the anti-war activists, in a constructive manner. Place recalls that he routinely checked under the jacket of one angry student to see if on that particular day he was carrying a gun. On the occasions when he was toting a gun, Place would quietly walk the student off campus to reason with him. For Place it was a difficult time, since most of his union responsibilities seemed to deal with keeping the younger teachers, who identified more with the students, out of conflict with the older faculty. The dialogue between students and faculty continued, and the College of Marin suffered none of the major disruptions that plagued other campuses.

UPM's files contain a letter dated February 17, 1978, from then-President Raoul Teilhet to UPM's then-President Paul Christensen congratulating him and the Union on UPM's selection by the Marin Community College District to be exclusive representative to the Board of Trustees. "Your CB election victory constitutes the first Bay Area community college election for the AFT," Teilhet told Christensen.

But there were storm clouds ahead for both the District and UPM. Physics instructor Bob Petersen, who had been learning to throw darts and to drink English bitter while living in Cambridge, England, as a Fulbright exchange during the 1978-79 academic year, had been informed by his CoM colleagues that negotiations between the District and the union were not going well at all, in spite of a "spectacular" job being done by UPM's president Jim Locke. On his return to California, Petersen asked Locke what he could do to help and was told he could look into something called the "50% Law." Aided by faculty colleague Bob Braun, the two Bobs spent the next five years "looking." After the first three years of "fumbling with the numbers and playing amateur attorneys," they were joined in the search by Michael Brailoff who brought a fresh approach and renewed vigor to the case. Petersen recalls he spent more of his time with attorney Bob Bezemek and Brailoff than he did with his own family. It should be pointed out, however, that in spite of all the effort spent in preparing the case for trial, there were long, almost continuous — 30, 22, and 18 month — periods of collective bargaining!

The initial Petition for Writ of Mandate and Complaint for Injunctive Relief in the 50% law lawsuit was filed in November, 1979, and was amended in September, 1981, seeking additional monies owed as a result of "the District's continuing violations of Education Code Sec. 84362." Subsequent discovery delayed the trial for 4 more years. Shortly before the case was due to go to trial the District, having repeatedly tried to get the UPM to dismiss the 50% law lawsuit to no avail, tried coercive legal action with a plan to lay off approximately 39.5 full-time equivalent positions. In April and May the layoff matter was heard by an Administrative Law Judge who recommended the lay off of certain respondents, and this was followed on June 1, 1984, by the Governing Board's vote to lay off approximately 40 certificated employees represented by the UPM.

But the layoffs never went through. In a settlement reached by both sides prior to trial, the UPM members won a substantial victory, which included retroactive recalculated salaries to reimburse them for their losses during the years when the District was playing fast and loose with the 50% law. The District also totally failed in its efforts to have faculty laid off.

In its long battle for justice under the 50% law, UPM received major help from the CFT Legal Defense Fund. Many locals loaned UPM sums of money to help the Union defray its large ongoing expenses. The upholding of the 50% law has benefitted teachers all over California.

UPM this year is now at the mid-way point in a three-year contract, one of the best in California. Chief negotiator on this contract was Ira Lansing, who had previously served the UPM as president. Tara Flandreau, a full-time member of the music faculty, is completing her second year as UPM president. Tara, who was part-time when she began her first term as president, is one of the few part-timers to hold office as a local union president in the State of California.

(Nikki Lamott, Tom Place, Bob Petersen, contributors)

# Bakersfield Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 1866**
**Chartered 1968**

The Bakersfield Federation of Teachers #1866 has a proud history. We were originally chartered as the Kern County Federation of Teachers #643 on May 31, 1939. One prominent member was the father of our recently deceased State Senator Walter Stiern (whose distinguished career in the State Senate lasted 28 years).

We were rechartered as the Bakersfield Federation of Teachers on April 18, 1968. Some of our prominent early leaders were John Day, Brenda Boggs, Matt Michael, Takvor Takvorian, Robert Ramey, and Dennis Blackburn.

During the early 1970s Jack Brigham was elected president of our local. In addition to serving our local, Jack was elected president of the Kern, Inyo, and Mono Counties Central Labor Council for two terms and also served as a CFT vice president for three terms.

Our "most valuable member" for the past two decades has been James Schmitz who has served us as treasurer and vice president. Our local leaders since the mid-1970s have included Linda Randolph, Linda Carbajal, Phyllis Schmitz, Hugh McGowan, Fred Gonzales, Woody Bagwell, Jessie Ireland, Peggy Couch, and Annis Cassells.

We have sponsored softball tournaments, our country history day competition, and participated in local labor and political campaigns.

Our proudest moment takes place each year when we host our Teacher Honoree Dinner and present perpetual awards named for prominent AFT leaders.

We have listed the names of the BCSD educators who have received our perpetual awards and membership in our BFT Hall of Fame since 1982. Each has made a gift of their life, bringing excellence to our profession.

Since May of 1982, the BFT has recognized over 100 teachers, counselors, principals, and support personnel for their excellence and service to our students, community and profession.

The **Albert Einstein Award** for dedication to learning and excellence in academic achievement has been presented to Sharon Dormire, Shirley Bozina, Annis Cassells, Bob Fullenwider, Judith O'Brien, and Phyllis Schmitz. This year's honoree is Madeline Nichols of Emerson Jr. High.

The **John Dewey Award** for trailblazing in modern education while stressing student involvement has been presented to Peggy Couch, Richard Meeks, Oliver Brennan, Betty Saunders, Elaine Joke, and Ramona Gia. This year's honoree is Dwane Johnson of Longfellow School.

***Since May of 1982, the BFT has recognized over 100 teachers, counselors, principals, and support personnel for their excellence and service to our students, community and profession.***

The **Raoul Teilhet Award** for leadership, dedication, and service to professional educators has been presented to James Schmitz, Donna Lathrop, Frederick Gonzales, Jack Brigham, and Linda Randolph. This year's honoree is Jessie Ireland of Williams School.

The **Assemblywoman Dorothy Donahoe and Senator Walter Stiern Award** for political leadership in support of public schools was initiated in 1985. (This will be the first time the award will have been presented since the passing of former State Senator Walter Stiern.) The three recipients have been Linda Carbajal, Annis Cassells, and Bill McLean. This year's honoree is Louie Vega of East Bakersfield High.

(Jack Brigham, contributor)

# Petaluma Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 1881**
**Chartered 1969**

The Petaluma Federation of Teachers first came into being in October 1968 when a group of about fifteen Petaluma teachers met at Georgia Squires' house to discuss plans for founding a teachers' union in Petaluma — a radical idea at the time.

The goals of the organization were to provide quality representation for local teachers through activism, organization, and information. We wanted effective local autonomy. A teachers' union seemed the answer.

During the ensuing three months, an organizing committee was set up, a constitution written, a dues structure established, and officers elected.

Finally, on February 6, 1969, the charter of the Petaluma Federation of Teachers, Local 1881, was received from AFT headquarters in Washington, D.C. PFT was officially born.

In its twenty years of existence, PFT has published more than 330 issues of its award-winning newsletter, *The Petaluma Priority*, has conducted numerous surveys of teacher opinion on negotiations, curriculum, staff-development, school reorganization, and has grown in membership from 7% to over 92% of the teachers in the district.

PFT's spirit of activism really began in 1971 when Georgia Squires, Rick Owen, and Clair Norman appeared before the Board of Education to ask for restoration of teacher salary increments which had been withheld by the district because of President Nixon's wage-price freeze. When the Board declined for legal reasons, PFT sued the district to recover back pay for teachers. PFT's membership nearly tripled and for the first time the Federation took a seat on the Certificated Employee Council.

By 1973, PFT's membership had doubled again, entitling the union to a second seat on the CEC. The union also sponsored a highly successful symposium on the subject of "Economics in Education." Clair Norman was elected president of the union for what turned out to be a term of twelve years.

The following year, PFT held another very well-attended seminar on the "Pros and Cons of the Year-round School," and the *Priority* won first place in the Union Teacher Press Association awards.

In 1975, PFT, for the first time, became the majority teachers' organization in Petaluma. When collective bargaining went into effect in 1976, it was the union which submitted the petition for recognition as exclusive representative and won the collective bargaining election on February 17, 1977. That same year, PFT's president Clair Norman was elected a CFT state vice president.

Since that time, PFT has negotiated five collective bargaining contracts including binding arbitration of grievances and agency fee.

In 1985, when Clair Norman stepped down from the union presidency, a new phase of PFT's history began. Under newly elected president John Braito, and with the support of chief negotiator Georgia Squires, elementary vice president Shirley Collins (later president), and negotiator Jon Harford, two major developments occurred.

***In its twenty years of existence, PFT has published more than 330 issues of its award-winning newsletter....and has grown in membership from 7% to over 92% of the teachers in the district.***

First, a program was initiated to broaden the union's membership base. In the last three years, that base has risen from 66% to over 92% of the teachers, with only 21 teachers remaining on agency fee.

Second, negotiation of an educational policy trust agreement began. Under this program, union participation in district affairs has put it on the cutting edge of educational reform. Under the Educational Policy Trust Agreement, PFT has negotiated a program in the Affective Domain, a fully-teacher-involved program of K-12 Staff Development, and Shared Decision-Making and School-Based Management.

The future looks bright for the Petaluma Federation of Teachers as the union enters its third decade with Jack Schipper at the helm as PFT's eighth president.

(Clair Norman, contributor)

# Diablo Valley Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 1902 Chartered 1968

A miniskirt scandal, a $38,000 maternity leave settlement, landmark grievance battles, a fight against agency fees and numerous journalism awards are some of the major milestones in the 21+ year history of the Diablo Valley Federation of Teachers, Local 1902.

Formed initially as the Central Contra Costa County Chapter of the Richmond Federation, Local 866, the chapter prospered at a time when "union" was equivalent to profanity for most teachers and was chartered as Local 1902 on July 17, 1968, with more than one hundred members from areas of the county that included Pittsburg, San Ramon and Acalanes as well as Mt. Diablo.

In those formative years, the AFT chapter quickly gained a reputation for defense of teacher rights when, in 1967, Nancy McGlone, a Pacifica High (West Pittsburg) English teacher, was brought up for dismissal on charges that included failure to salute the flag and wearing a miniskirt to work. McGlone was defended by AFT attorneys Francis Heisler and Peter Frank, and though the hearing officer found the District's charges groundless and McGlone's dismissal unwarranted, the Board of Trustees ignored the findings and fired Nancy anyway.

Leadership in the young Local was provided by Presidents Ken Edwards, Tom Lundy and Steve Spencer during the "chapter" phase. The chapter operated chiefly out of Lundy's garage and the office equipment consisted of one rickety mimeograph machine—period. When the chapter was granted for Local 1902, Kaz Mori was at the helm and remained there until 1973. Under Mori's charismatic leadership, membership swelled.

In 1965 the California Legislature had passed the Winton Act, a toothless version of collective bargaining. But for all the law's weaknesses, it did provide for proportional representation in meet and confer sessions of "Certificated Employee Councils," the forerunner of negotiating teams under collective bargaining. DVFT awoke to find that we qualified to have two members on the team, enough to put the union's program on the floor for discussion. Routinely, DVFT proposals were voted down by the Association majority, only to reappear the following year—virtually unchanged—as the Association program.

When the Board of Trustees was unresponsive in the fall of 1972, a one-day walk-out was called jointly by DVFT and the Association. Despite an agreement between organizations to share the limelight, Kaz was physically manhandled by CTA-types and prevented from participating in a press conference. Later in the morning, after a march to the District Office by over 1,400 teachers, Mori and CFT President Raoul Teilhet seized the bull-horn and excited the crowd with the fiery oratory that was the union trademark.

In 1973, the DVFT Grievance Committee was formed when DVFT's fifth president, Joel Brooks and Dick Hemann responded to a growing need to defend teacher rights. With Hemann and Mori co-chairing the committee, anyone with a problem called the Union, which now had opened an office in Pleasant Hill. In 1974, DVFT filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission over the District's refusal to allow female employees to use accumulated sick leave for maternity purposes. Once again the union prevailed and the three named parties Phala Dann, Linda Holman and Sue Byde won settlements varying from $1,900 to $4,000, and each member in the class action received $500—a total of some $38,000.

*DVFT members carrying the union banner in one-day walkout, 1972 (John Gravell photo)*

In 1975, Chuck Foster became DVFT's sixth president. In 1974 Foster had organized and edited the award-winning newsletter, the *Diablo Teacher*. His column "Pellucidly" was a favorite feature, spotlighting teacher



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activists in Mount Diablo. Membership now reached an all-time high of nearly 500. On September 22, 1975, the Winton Act was replaced by the Rodda Act, California's public employee collective bargaining law. In the spring of 1976, and without sufficient analysis of the long-term effects of their action, the membership voted to withdraw from a bargaining election and let the Association become the bargaining agent. The theory was that the Association would do such a poor job that the Union would win easily a year or two later. At the time, this action seemed to be the best course. The Association did do poorly, but in the challenge election of 1979, DVFT fell 140 votes short of victory.

In the spring of 1977, the first of four "spring rites"—mass teacher dismissals—occurred. More than half of the 500 teachers receiving notices were represented by DVFT and attorney David Rosenfeld. Rosenfeld put on quite a display in his cross examination of James Slezak—the Porsche-driving patent leather shoe-wearing superintendent. When the district settled, all of those dismissed were rehired or found jobs in other districts. Kaz Mori returned as President in 1977 and held the organization together during the 11-day Association strike. Only one DVFT member crossed the picket line during the entire ordeal.

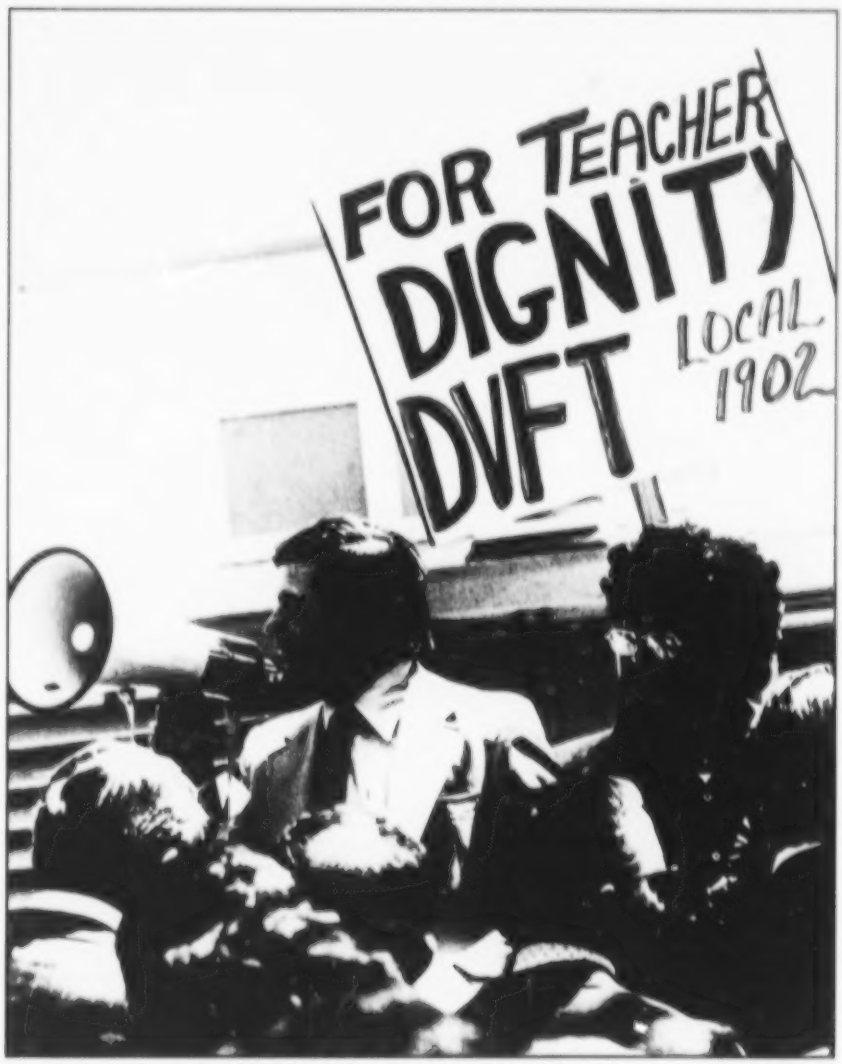
In the fall of 1979, the opposition concluded negotiating its second contract which included an agency shop clause. Under the direction of Al Zacharin, Les Groobin, Carol Noble, Anna Mantell, Barbara Macnab, Mori, Hemann, Foster and several others, DVFT again fought the Association in the agency shop election. This time only 40 votes separated the two in a poor voter turnout with the Association prevailing with only a 56% majority of the teachers' unit supporting the issue.

In 1980, Barbara Macnab became DVFT's eighth president. A complex legal challenge to the agency fee election was successfully resolved in negotiations spearheaded by Macnab and CFT Field Rep Tom Martin. Over 190 teachers received more than $140 each, more than $26,000 total.

In 1983, Dick Hemann became president of Local 1902 and, with the assistance of Carol Noble, Keith Harris, John Gavell, Sandy Schroeder, Chris Piazza, and Macnab, DVFT's *Diablo Teacher* won numerous journalism awards, statewide and nationally.

In 1986, Keith Harris, DVFT's current president, took office. While membership has dwindled through retirement and for other reasons, some 20 stalwarts still hold faithful to the cause. The spring of 1989 will see a new turn. Mt. Diablo psychologists, a separate bargaining unit of about 15, have voted to affiliate with CFT and will become a chapter under the umbrella of DVFT.

(Dick Hemann, contributor)




*Raoul Teilbet and Kaz Mori (John Gravell photo)*



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# Coast Federation of Employees

## AFT Local 1911 Chartered 1968

Turbulence, calm, ruggedness and serenity characterize the Pacific Coast and AFT Local 1911. The Coast Federation of Employees has demonstrated continuous militancy to carry on the battle for educational quality, teacher rights, equitable salaries, and employee working conditions on whatever ground and in whatever circumstances were necessary.

Chartered as the College Teachers Guild in August 1968, Coast Federation of Employees today represents full-time faculty and classified staff in the Coast Community College District: Orange Coast, Golden West, and Coastline Colleges. From those early years as a first line of defense for faculty, the union pursued the goal of collective bargaining while defending the rights of individual faculty members and speaking out for academic freedom, due process, and control of the curriculum. Half the charter members, including Mike Finnegan, Mike Copp, Pierre Grimes, and Rich Linder still teach in the district; Jay Zimmermann, the first secretary of the local, currently serves on the executive council. Phillis Basile, another charter member, went on to become a vice-president of the California Federation of Teachers and served the local as president during the fight for collective bargaining.

In 1972, the District opened a PBS TV station on the Golden West Campus and sought to offer classes without adequate review by the curriculum committee. Peggy Staggs, Phillis Basile, Bob Ennis, Barbara Deakin and Pierre Grimes, among others, working through the Academic Senates and the AFT, presented 74 questions about all aspects of the impact of a public television station being run by a community college district, beginning a long struggle to protect academic quality while using new technology.

The passage of the Rodda Act in 1976 gave impetus to the local's efforts to achieve bargaining representative status, and events surrounding the television station and exacerbated by the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 created a sense of urgency, bringing to a head the issue of financial priorities within the district. The chancellor's "savings" preserved funding for the TV station while slashing teaching programs, starting with increasing teachers' workload, putting some administrators and non-teaching certificated employees in the classroom, and freezing salaries. Sabbaticals previously approved were abruptly cancelled.

When faculty questioned both the figures and the plan, Local 1911 responded by forming a United Faculty Organization of AFT, CTA, and CSEA to fund the first independent fiscal analysis of the District. Don Ackley and Margaret Holtrust were among those gathering data for the analysis team; the District fought access to the figures, and it took legal resort to the public records act to obtain the data. The independent analysis found violation of the 50% law, under-reporting of KOCE-TV costs and over-reporting of income, and, despite District statements that there was no "reserve," an ending balance for 1978 of $9,000,000.

*Phillis Basile, Bill Purkiss, Mike Finnegan, Tina Havins, Judy Ackley at Solidarity Day, 1981*

Organizational difficulties, primarily unit determination hearings with the CTA, delayed collective bargaining until 1979. Finally two faculty bargaining units were created, with the full-time unit defined as faculty teaching 7 1/2 or more units. Kelli Gardner and Jackie Ruby of the AFT worked with Judy Ackley, Phillis Basile, John Buckley, Carol Burke-Fonte, Barbara Dilworth, and many others to insure victory. On May 17, 1979, 70% of the 572 ballots cast in the Full-time unit were for AFT.

When Phillis Basile, Nancy Rubinstein, Bob Hancock, Margaret Holtrust, Lee Bradley, and John Jensen sat down at the table to begin negotiations, they little realized that it would be well into a new year before, after round-the-clock mediation, the contract would be settled. The contract ratified in May, 1980 provided for a 17 1/2 % raise, but more important for the future, it included language preserving the rights for which the union had fought: academic freedom, classroom management, curriculum control, and due process.

That language was soon to be tested. The significance of the contract was proved when 67 faculty members signed a letter expressing their opinion of course content in English composition telecourses and sent it to transfer institutions throughout the state, members of the state legislature, and chancellor's office. Individual reprimands were issued to the faculty, without due process, for exercising freedom to express publicly their opinion. The union filed a grievance, the reprimands were withdrawn, and, eventually, so were the telecourses.

Despite efforts by the Federation to focus attention on providing quality education to our students during tough financial times, the District continued to follow its pre-Proposition 13 priorities. The 1982 legislative "hit-list" hit Coast hard, as predicted by the union, and, by that



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fall, the handwriting was on the wall. Activities rose to a fever pitch of direct action to prevent layoffs: a candlelight vigil, a coffin labeled "Education," a Rolls Royce to symbolize mistaken priorities, and a union-produced video titled "People, Programs, and Priorities" were brought to the Trustees. The word "recall" was heard for the first time in early 1983, when, at a packed Board meeting, Trustees took action leading directly to layoffs.

*Classified negotiating team in 1985, the day the first contract was signed*

On February 16, 1983, layoff notices were issued to 100 faculty and 10 administrators, with other faculty being displaced and reassigned to cover the gaps. Chuck Canniff of the CFT chaired a mass meeting February 17 to advise faculty of their rights. In the months to follow, Judy Ackley worked with Jim Pierce, Sally Flotho, Bill Purkiss, Robert Smith, Ann Jackson, and other affected faculty both to insure their legal rights and to assure them that the union would not rest until they were reinstated. Larry Rosenzweig represented the faculty at the most massive administrative hearing, lasting six days, in California community college history, but the legal remedy proved ineffective, since only eight faculty were reinstated in the hearing decision.

Faculty meanwhile were carrying on a political strategy that would lead ultimately to victory. College and community feelings were strong at the February board meeting when David Warfield served each of the trustees with a recall notice. Nancy and David's home in Westminster was soon to became action central for Helen Evers, Dick Marsh, Rick Rowe, Ginny Fereira, Rich Brightman, and the many others who worked on the recall.

During the hot smoggy summer of 1983, faculty members, students and classified staff labored collecting signatures at libraries, groceries, and discount stores in one of the largest recalls in the history of California, creating a bond that would not soon be broken. Wes Brian, Lou Clunk and others gave lessons in practical education to the public. The recall came up short, but, thanks to candidate development work by Ed Dornan, Barbara Bullard, Don Ackley and others, the election in November of 1983 resulted in a new board majority, endorsed by the union.

After the election, the Federation worked under pressure to guarantee that all the faculty and administrators would be immediately returned to work. On December 16, 1983, the new board majority took action before a packed auditorium, reinstating all the faculty who had been laid off in time to return them to classes for the spring semester. By June 1984, following the return of the faculty, the district showed a $7,000,000 ending balance—far different from the deficit predicted by the administration in justifying the layoffs.

1984 turned out to be a big year for unity when members of the classified staff approached local leadership to affiliate. Led by Helen Evers and Pat Dyer, several members of the CSEA executive council tore up their membership cards as unity talks led to a new name for the proposed new local: Coast Federation of Employees. Chris Hamilton worked closely with the classified staff to insure victory in the de-certification election that followed.

Helen Evers, Gail Deakin, Phil Riddick, Lois Wilkerson, Mark Craig, Marta Dickinson, and Jean Collins formed a negotiating team with Judy Ackley serving as Chief Negotiator and Jeff Dimsdale as a representative from the faculty bargaining unit. Again, it took nearly one year, but the contract ended up with the best raise ever for classified staff, as well as new sections on professional growth, uniforms, service on committees, and participation in evaluation.

Now led by Dave Jarman and Scotty Ross, the union has in recent years worked in creative areas of collective bargaining such wellness, employee assistance, professional growth, and retraining. Contract language insures that planning and budget processes will have participation by the entire college community. We have a healthy sabbatical program as well as alternative methods of professional development such as job shadowing, community service organizational activities, and production of educational materials. In 1987-88, a benefits committee including Sharon Salmans, Dave Jarman and others, reviewed the entire program, preserving it in face of escalating costs.

Coast Federation of Employees remains a vital organization that has shown its willingness to solve problems in whatever forum is nessessary: in the 1960's we took issues to institutions, in the 1970's, to the state and the court, and, in the 1980's, to the people. The local's philosophy of inclusive issues rather than narrow, exclusive concerns, there from the beginning, but refined and amplified during the crucible of the layoff years, has created a tapestry of leadership in our district: union, Senate, classified, confidential, supervisory, and administrative representatives work together on a multiplicity of critical issues as we approach the 1990s.

(Judith Ackley, contributor)

# Pajaro Valley Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 1936**
**Chartered 1969**

The Pajaro Valley Federation of Teachers, Local 1936, received its charter in 1969, as a Local of the American Federation of Teachers. The enfranchisement of the Charter was initiated by Pajaro Valley teachers who felt that AFT could better serve their needs and could more aggressively work to forward the interests of teachers within the District. The Charter members of the Local were impressed with AFT's commitment to democratic ideals and organization, and by its record of effective teacher representation. From a deeply-committed nucleus of 21 charter members, the Local grew to be an important force in the struggle for teacher advocacy in the Pajaro Valley.

*PVFT holds many social activities, such as this bowling tournament with Pat Bendix, Al Nethercutt, and Mas Hashimoto*

During the next few years, the Union shared the position of representing the District's teachers with the Pajaro Valley Education Association (CTA) on the seven-member Negotiations Council. Though the PVFT representatives were a minority on the Council, they demonstrated capable and effective leadership and representation of District teachers. In 1973 the Union played a key leadership role in the successful four-day strike by Pajaro Valley teachers for improved salaries and working conditions. Teachers were impressed by the competent leadership demonstrated by the staff of AFT and CFT, as well as that of our own Local.

Under collective bargaining legislation, which became effective in 1975, teachers in California school districts were to be represented in negotiations by only one organization. Pajaro Valley teachers initially elected to be represented by the Pajaro Valley Education Association. Local 1936 concentrated on building membership and maintained a persistent role in the cause of teacher advocacy. In April, 1978, the Union moved to decertify the PVEA as bargaining agent for the District's teachers. The Pajaro Valley Federation of Teachers won the hard-fought election, and has ably represented PVUSD

***...the Union has instituted a negotiated calendar involving teacher input, and has greatly reduced the extra-curricular workload of classroom teachers. All K-12 teachers have a prep period!***



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teachers, counselors, librarians, and nurses since that time.

**Gains For Teachers Under The Union**

The Union has made significant gains for teachers and other certificated staff of the Pajaro Valley Unified School District. We have fought for and won consistent salary increases for our teachers. In our first nine years as bargaining agent, we have more than doubled the salaries in the District, and our minimum salary is now the highest in the county. We have negotiated compensation for State-mandated (SB 813) increases in working days and working hours. We have won for teachers a greatly improved fringe benefits package, featuring the cost containment of self-funded health insurance. We have negotiated the "Golden Handshake," whereby early retirees (55-62 years of age) receive yearly payments, and we have secured fringe benefits for retirees (55 years of age, with ten years of service in the District) until age 65.

In terms of working conditions, the Union has instituted a negotiated calendar involving teacher input, and has greatly reduced the extra-curricular workload of classroom teachers. All K-12 teachers have a prep period! We have been a strong advocate of the preparation period for all classroom teachers, K-12. We have negotiated a maximum class size of 32 (for K-3) and 34 (4-12), and we are working to lower it further.

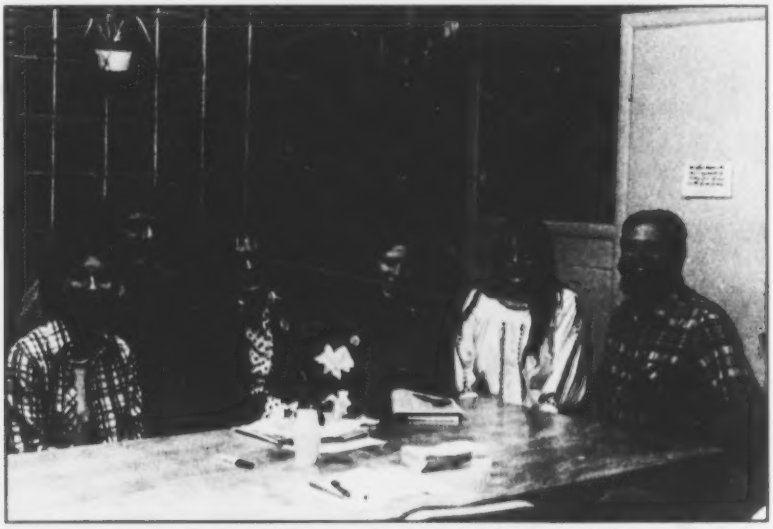
The Union has aggressively defended the rights of teachers—in grievance and unfair labor practice proceedings and in the courts, using the excellent legal services available to us through our affiliation with AFT and CFT. The Union provides its members with $1,000,000 of professional liability insurance—an invaluable benefit indeed.

The bargaining unit represented by the Union has been increased and strengthened during the Union's stewardship. We have included Adult Education teachers and Independent Study teachers in the unit. Last year, we were among the winners in the AFT Full Membership Drive.

Local 1936 has been prominent on the District's Budget, Safety, and Sabbatical Leave Committees, and we were actively involved in establishing the evaluation procedure for teachers. We are represented on all District committees, and we meet regularly with the Superintendent prior to meetings of the Governing Board so that we can offer our input. The Union has worked to maintain effective and productive relations with the District staff. Indeed, the Union is well respected by the District administration.

We are proud of our record!

(Rudy Pedulla, contributor)



*Officers of the newly-elected bargaining agent - from left, Marcia Hashimoto, Thurbie Markoe, Rhea DeHart, Heloise Schaser, Suzie Jarratt, John Duncan, 1978*



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# Santa Rosa Junior College Faculty/AFT

## AFT Local 1946 Chartered 1969

The Santa Rosa Junior College Faculty/AFT, Local 1946, occupies one of the most beautiful community college campuses in the state. It is fronted by a park acquired from the estate of noted plant breeder Luther Burbank. Campus gardeners today keep faith with this illustrious predecessor in the carefully tended flower beds, shrubs, and lawns amongst which sculpture, fountains, and ivy-covered Tudor brick buildings make a picture-perfect collegiate setting. Too perfect, perhaps, because its very beauty may have stood in the way of the faculty getting itself organized, as current SRJC Faculty/AFT President Sarah Gill speculated: "It is so beautiful here that it's easy to overlook all the inequities and get lulled into a false sense of security and complacency."

*Joan Wion*

That complacency was shattered on June 13, 1989, when the SRJC faculty, in two parallel elections, voted AFT in as the bargaining agent in one unit composed of adult education instructors, and in the other unit gave AFT a plurality of votes over a slate of no rep, CTA, and an independent faculty association. The victories were two decades in the making.

Local 1946 was founded just 20 years ago on April 10, 1969 with 14 members, led by activists David Harrigan, Harvey Hanson, and John Bigby. In its early years, Local 1946 made a name for itself, despite its small numbers, as a staunch and militant opponent of the Vietnam war. Two new members, Brian O'Brien and Marilyn Milligan, had, as graduate students at UC Berkeley, helped found the original antiwar movement. Harrigan, the second president, helped students to start up a black students' association, and worked with other AFT members to form a COPE chapter.

Under Harrigan's leadership in 1972, the local published its first newsletter, *Dialogue*, edited by Rosalie Zucker with assistance by Steve Petty and Bernie Sugarman. The following year, Petty, together with third president Bill Harrison and English instructor Don Emblen, co-edited the *AFT Informer*, more an academic journal than a newsletter, which focused on educational issues and provided a forum for faculty discussion. Emblen soon became sole editor. Although the literary quality of the *AFT Informer* was excellent, and faculty enjoyed it, publication ended in 1974 with a one-time-only resurrection in 1983.

SRJC faculty rejected the opportunity afforded in 1975 by the Rodda Act to organize for collective bargaining, choosing instead a so-called "collegial" attempt to work out salaries and benefits with the administration and Board of Trustees through committees of the Academic Senate, which had meet-and-confer rights only. Over the next 15 years, the Board of Trustees, composed of long-term local businessmen, professionals, and farmers, developed a powerful, monolithic organization whose vote at Board meetings was typically unanimous, and who favored a corporate model for college governance. One or two half-hearted efforts at a collective bargaining election by a few AFT activists failed to collect enough petition cards from a sufficient majority of the faculty. Three candidates supported by AFT for the Board failed to get elected. Given these discouraging circumstances, it was not surprising that AFT's membership declined under successive AFT presidents Bernie Sugarman, Pat Broderick, and Everett Traverso, leveling into a kind of holding pattern with the presidencies of Brian O'Brien and Joan Wion.

*Dr. Brian O'Brien*

There were some victories. In 1983, the AFT protested the action of the college's president who had directed his secretary to remove AFT flyers written by activist Harvey Hanson to support a candidate for the Board of Trustees from the SRJC faculty mailboxes. After considerable opposition by the district, AFT's position that employee organizations had the right to free and unencumbered access to the college's internal mail system was upheld in 1984 by a PERB decision. Over the next five years, the district would continue periodically to take faculty mail from faculty mailboxes for various reasons, but each time AFT was able to refer to the PERB decision to call a halt to these actions.

After the lottery law was passed, AFT members worked with the CTA local to develop a "wish list" of faculty priorities for spending the money, ignored by the administration. After over $3.4 million had been collected in lottery monies, the AFT asked the district for an accounting. Although the local K-12 school districts in Santa Rosa had reported in the local newspaper how they had used their share of lottery monies, the college Board of Trustees refused to give the faculty this information. AFT initiated

a suit, still pending, to get an accounting of the lottery money from the district.

Faculty attitudes were starting to change. Attempting to work through the structure of the Academic Senate, AFT activists in the Senate had helped to arrange annual all-college meetings with the administration. Each year the same issues were identified and discussed, and then little or nothing done about them by the district for another year. Part-time faculty burgeoned to comprise 82% of total faculty. Sabbaticals for full-time faculty were reduced to once every 14 years. Meanwhile, the district grew richer, with a profit of more than $1 million a year tucked away into a reserve fund. By the fall of 1987, faculty faith in the "collegial" process had eroded to the point where collective bargaining was an attractive alternative. Local 1946 asked national AFT rep Vincent Russell for help, and on February 9, 1988, with a grand total membership of 32 and a newly elected president, Sarah Gill, the SRJC FAculty AFT set out to win collective bargaining rights for the faculty.

Strong opposition came not just from the district but also from a group of full-time faculty members who had accommodated to the meet-and-defer process. But the SRJC Faculty AFT found a secret weapon in Ron Melton, the national AFT staff member assigned to provide strategic and logistical support for the campaign. On Melton's advice, Gill and Membership Chair Marty Carpenter attended AFT's Full Membership Program in Santa Cruz, and mounted a strong membership campaign in the fall of 1988. Vice President Richard Speakes organized phonebanks for SRJC's part-time faculty members. Educational forums on AB1725 and workshops for part-time faculty unemployment benefits were held. AFT membership more than quadrupled, winning state and national awards for membership growth.

*Dr. Sarah Gill*

Many new members enrolled as activists. More than 50 members came to work on tasks of the campaign. Outstanding among the members who gave generously of their time, energies, and spirit: Chuck Brown, Peter Broome, Peggy Fontaine, Alberta Hart, Val Hicks, Carol Hirsch, Steve Hopkins, Diane Johnson, Ed LaFrance, Meridee Lantz, John LeBaron, Lorin Leith, Charles Miller, Gino and Julie Muzzatti, Sylvia Nance, Dave Reagan, Diana Reeder, Ann Samson, Helen Sherak, Rich Vera, Dick Webster, and Shirley Kottke Young.

Gill opened the carding campaign at a SRJC Faculty AFT meeting on November 29, 1988. Convinced by AFT's success that collective bargaining was going to win, some full-time faculty created a stop-AFT movement by calling in Cy Gulassa from the Foothill-DeAnza district for help in forming the independent All Faculty Association. The administration had told AFT officers all along that there was a total of approximately 1000 faculty members at SRJC, which meant that AFT would have to collect 501 signatures in order to qualify for an election. Suddenly the district produced a list of over 1400, going back in time for two years and including a group of 237 non-credit part-time adult instructors whose names had never appeared on any of the district's faculty directories. AFT members scrambled to the phonebanks and drove all over Sonoma County to secure the additional signatures needed to quality.

*John Bigby*

Meanwhile, Gill and Melton began a short, intensive campaign with the group that would become known as Unit B at the Sonoma state hospital where many of the instructors worked with developmentally disabled adults. With the help of Unit B activists Robyn Cherwin and Emory Norstad, Gill and Melton learned that these part-time instructors were treated by the administration as the sub-proletariat of the district, receiving even less pay and fewer benefits than their Unit A colleagues on the main campus. Many promptly joined AFT. One of the district administrators, acting true to his reputation in Unit B, claimed that Gill and Melton had no right to talk with instructors, and called the police to throw them out. The result of this action was to cause many more Unit B instructors to sign up with AFT.

Not surprisingly, when the votes were counted on June 15, 1989, Unit B went 78% for AFT representation. In Unit A, comprised of 1170 part-time and full-time instructors working on the main campus or at one of more than 50 off-campus sites, the vote went 40% for AFT, 32% for AFA, 18% for CTA, and 7% for No Representation. A run-off election for Unit A between AFT and the second-place AFA is scheduled for October 1989. "We look forward to another victory in the fall," Gill said. Meanwhile, the SRJC Faculty AFT is working hard with the instructors of Unit B to develop their first contract.

(Sarah Gill, contributor)



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# Tamalpais Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 1985 Chartered 1969

Chartered in 1969 with ten members, the Tamalpais Federation of Teachers (AFT Local 1985) was initially led by Tamalpais High School teacher Ken Anderson. A year later the reins passed to Redwood High School teacher Russell Hill and the *Tamalpais Teacher*, the TFT's award-winning newsletter was born.

Following Hill was Norm Rogers, a Tam librarian, and shortly thereafter Frank Gold, a math teacher at Tam High took over the TFT presidency. An "office" on Gold's back porch came into being as the union grew in size, organizing became a key strategy, and building representatives and meetings sprang up in all three high schools and both smaller alternative schools in the Southern Marin County district.

The first collective bargaining election in the District and also in the state under the new CB laws gave the TFT representation of Tam teachers. A new contract, the first in the state, was signed, and the presidency passed to Redwood English teacher Mary Donovan. Along the way, Tamalpais teachers staged a successful one-day strike, established a strong grievance record and brought Tamalpais salaries to the top among North Bay districts.

A new office in Larkspur was rented, printing equipment bought, and the TFT began to pay its president a stipend.

The untimely death of Chief Negotiator Duane Miller, a social studies teacher at Sir Francis Drake High School was mourned by all Tamalpais teachers, and a subsequent scholarship set up by the union in his name gifted outstanding students yearly with a $500 college grant.

Tamalpais teachers, in a "now-it's their-turn" mood, voted the TFT out in what was to become a pattern over the next few years.

Although a non-bargaining local, the TFT, now led by Drake math teacher Judy Salem, continued to work hard for Tam teachers and some teachers felt that their "representative" had never changed!

The presidency of the TFT was again assumed by Frank Gold, followed by a term of office held by English teacher Elaine Johnson. During that period the TFT won back the bargaining agent rights, and established a winning record in the courts as a suit-happy superintendent pounded away at teacher rights.

Declining enrollment triggered the district's first mass layoffs during Johnson's term, which saw past-president Gold elected to a post as a CFT vice-president.

Russell Hill was elected to a second term as TFT president following Johnson and another CB election saw the TFT again on the outside. Johnson became the first AFTer to hold an officer's post with the Marin County Central Labor Council.

Following Hill, Rogers took the reins for a second time, while Hill took over the job as editor of the CFT's *California Teacher*, and Johnson became the CFT representative to the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing.

In a startling move to force the issue of teacher unity, a long-time issue in the Tamalpais District, Rogers also became president of the CTA chapter, holding the presidency of both organizations simultaneously. Although unity talks had been held during Gold and Johnson's tenures, CTA objections had always scuttled attempts to stop the internecine warfare in the Tam District. Now, under Rogers' leadership, a Joint Executive Council was established, a joint newsletter, the *TUHSD Unity* replaced the *Tamalpais Teacher*, and joint building meetings were held in the three high schools.

*1985 election campaign, front - Marilee Rogers, Bob Mautner, Bev Concannon, John Thompson; back - Russell Hill, Linda Davidson, Dick Frakes, Jim Pierce*

Independent-Journal
SERVING ALL OF MARIN COUNTY
REDWOOD HIGH SCHOOL
Tam Teach
Strike Keep
Most Off J
80 Per Cent Missing In Protest Over Pay
IN STRIKE
WE
STRIKE

*TFT members Mary Donovan, Roberta Alkire-Gold, Yvonne Beauchamp, Bob Wylie, Russell Hill and two aides on the picket line in front of Redwood High School, May 1974*

"Whether we were in or out of bargaining agent status, we never stopped fighting for teacher rights," comments past-president Gold.

Still very much alive and fighting, despite the fact that the Tamalpais district has shrunk to less than half its former size, the TFT still maintains its Larkspur office and is still a vocal presence in CFT affairs.

"Our members were never 'fair weather' people," says Elaine Johnson. "They belong to TFT because they're committed union workers."

(Russell Hill, contributor)



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# Novato Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 1986
## Chartered 1969

The Novato Federation of Teachers, Local 1986, became the first bargaining agent in Novato after receiving 55% of the teachers' votes on November 4, 1976. NFT has remained the bargaining agent through two decertification attempts, each time increasing our margin of victory.

NFT received its charter from AFT on October 18, 1969 with 23 charter members under the leadership of Arthur (Bill) Atwood. It remained a small group with token representation on the old C.E.C. However, all was not well with the Association chapter. As it became more centered on state and county organization affairs, many members became disturbed that the organization's concerns were becoming less oriented to local teacher needs. Loss of local control was also a major issue to many members for decision making power was shifting from the local organization to the regional or state organization. When it became clear that the Association was unresponsive to these concerns, many members of the Association left and formed an independent group, the Classroom Teachers of Novato (C.T.O.N.), headed by Iris Cloudt. It soon became evident, however, that we needed the umbrella cover and help of a national organization and AFT/CFT met those needs. Thus, C.T.O.N. members joined NFT and became the guiding force of the newly merged organization with triple the membership.

Under the leadership of President Iris Cloudt, NFT continued to grow in numbers as more teachers became disillusioned with the Association. When collective bargaining became a reality, NFT was in a good position to "go for the gold" and become the exclusive bargaining agent. NFT began preparations for a challenge election under the leadership of W. Jerry Larkin and Iris Cloudt, who became the chairperson of the NFT contract committee. The Association delayed the election, but with the aid of CFT/AFT staff people, especially Sam Bishop, NFT ran a successful classroom teacher oriented campaign, under the direction of President Helen Vargas in the fall of 1976.

*1979 Negotiations team, from left - Jerry Larkin, Tom Martin (CFT), Marty Wells, Carey McCarthy, Russ Dreosch, Andy Frauenhofer*

NFT set out to negotiate the first collective bargaining contract for Novato after obtaining a great deal of input from Novato teachers. Among the highlights of the contract was the concept of professional hours of employment. No time clock was to be employed and teachers were left to determine how their professional duties would be met.

Over the years that NFT has been the official voice for Novato teachers, the contract has been steadily improved. Under the leadership of Presidents P. Carey McCarthy and Helen Vargas O'Hara respectively the following noteworthy achievements were accomplished. Extra duty assignments were slowly bargained away and some weekly prep time was achieved for elementary teachers. A permanent sabbatical fund was established, and teachers were to be paid a negotiated hourly rate or daily rate for any work over and beyond their professional responsibilities, as well as for voluntary participation in District-authorized and established in-service activities and curriculum work. Salary increases have also been negotiated to increase Novato's salary schedule rank in the Bay Area.

Over the years great effort has been made to develop a more cooperative attitude in relations between the District and the Federation. Through the grievance procedure and regular meetings between the Superintendent and the Federation president, NFT has assumed an ever increasing role in the professional activities of Novato teachers. As we approach the 1990s, NFT foresees even more improvement in the professional status of our teachers as we continue to improve an already excellent contract. We also look forward to a sharing of decision-making powers in the District. It is the goal of the current officers and building representatives, under the direction of President W. Jerry Larkin, to professionalize teaching and take an active role in determining our future.

(Jerry Larkin, contributor)





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# Greater Santa Cruz Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 2030
## Chartered 1969

In the late 1960s a group of teachers from Santa Cruz High School, under the leadership of George Smith, Bob Lissner, Dick Roth and Dan Happer met to discuss the possibilities of organizing a union independent from the CTA.

On March 16, 1969, 23 teachers met at Harbor High School to formally organize and elect officers of the newly established Greater Santa Cruz Federation of Teachers, affiliated with CFT and the American Federation of Teachers. The officers elected for the new Local 2030 were: President, George Smith; Vice President, Ron Boortz; Secretary, Libby Harrington; and Treasurer, Bob Lissner. Union dues were established at $16.80/year.

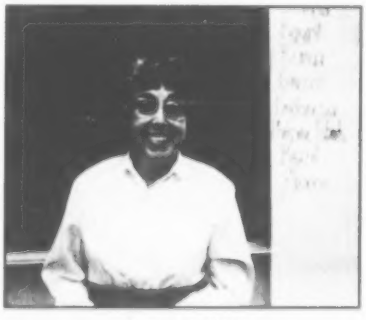
The first challenge the Union faced was the difficulty of distributing information to teachers. Administrators were members and officers of CTA during the 1960s and generally hostile to the unionization of teachers. Principals refused to allow the placement of union literature in teacher mailboxes. Direct confrontation and a challenge to this illegal action resolved the situation. The Union gained visibility with its publication, "Board Hi-Lites," which appeared in teachers' boxes the morning following each school board meeting!

From its beginning the union mainly was made up of mainly secondary teachers. In an attempt to broaden its base the Union began a concerted effort to attract elementary teachers. One of the first was Donna Cohick, a new teacher at Gault Elementary School, who helped increase Union membership in the elementary schools.

Prior to collective bargaining the union participated in Winton Act Councils with CTA. Under the leadership of Ron Boortz, Union President from 1970-72, Union visibility grew. Duty-free lunch became a major issue. After pressure from President Boortz and other Union activists, the District conceded and agreed to follow the law. In 1972, when it became difficult to find a new president, a committee of teachers from Gault Elementary led by John Moore shared the responsibilities of Union representation.

By 1975 membership had grown to 86. George Smith assumed leadership for a second time. Just as the Union was showing signs of significant growth the Collective Bargaining Act passed. Both teacher organizations filed to become the exclusive bargaining unit. Fearing defeat, the Union withdrew from the bargaining election on October 5, 1976, automatically making the Santa Cruz City Teacher's Association (CTA-NEA) the exclusive representative. Union membership dropped drastically.

In 1977, Al Wright became president. Schools were facing massive financial problems: inflation was averaging 12-13% while state COLA's were only 4-6%. Layoff hearings were held by the District. The Union offered counseling and legal help to all teachers involved in the layoff hearings regardless of membership, in contrast to CTA's position to help only members. As a result, membership in Local 2030 began to grow again.



*Donna Cohick*

Collective bargaining placed the union at a disadvantage, since all bargaining and contractual matters were now in the hands of CTA. In an attempt to stay in the political arena, the idea of a coalition between Santa Cruz City Teachers Association (SCCTA) and the Union emerged. Under the leadership of SCCTA president Donna Cohick, a former Union activist, and Don Maxwell, a member of both GSCFT and SCCTA, unity talks began. After considerable debate, both executive councils gave tentative approval to the plan. A Constitution and By-Laws for the new United Teachers of Santa Cruz was drawn up and a date set for teachers to vote.

The state CTA was adamantly opposed to this idea. The SCCTA Executive Council had to call a meeting one day prior to the election, and after bitter debate decided narrowly against letting teachers vote on the Coalition proposal. The Coalition effort had been strongly supported by the SCCTA president, Donna Cohick, who promptly resigned; other executive members also resigned from SCCTA.

Amid growing teacher resentment over CTA actions to kill the unity movement, GSCFT circulated decertification cards in spring, 1978. An election date was set for March 18, 1980. The decertification campaign was a monumental effort. At election time GSCFT had 90 members and SCCTA 250. CFT Field Representative Julie Minard, Donna Cohick and Don Maxwell, GSCFT President organized an effective election organization and strategy. The final vote (155 SCCTA-260 GSCFT) proved SCCTA had lost valuable leaders and credibility. Still committed to unity, GSCFT sent a letter to SCCTA offering to create a coalition. The letter was returned unopened.

Despite Proposition 13, the first Union contract (1981/82) produced a 10% salary increase. The new contract also improved due process of transfer and reassignments and grievance procedures.

The Federation grew rapidly in the

early 1980s. As bargaining agent the Union brought new vitality to teacher leadership. In an effort to promote teacher involvement in educational issues, the first QuEST conference was held at UCSC in February, 1981. The conference was a huge success and established the Union as a leader of teacher professionalism.

In 1981 the first major clash between the District and the Union occurred over the involuntary transfer of 15 teachers. The brought the issue to arbitration. The ruling supported the Union contention that the District had violated the contract. The District rescinded most of the involuntary transfers.

Donna Cohick became union president in 1981. Donna also continued to serve as chief negotiator. Under Donna's leadership as grievance chairperson, many issues with the District were resolved without lengthy and costly arbitration hearings. Salary negotiations were increasingly difficult due to the aftermath of Proposition 13 and a tightening of state finances. In spite of these difficulties, a three-year contract was secured for 1981-83. A second QuEST conference was held in February, 1982.

Kaj Blomquist, a long-time union member became president in 1984. By 1985 membership reached 175.

In 1985, Don Maxwell was elected President for the second time and has continued to serve as union leader. Recognizing the continuing interest in professional issues in Santa Cruz, the CFT selected the Federation as one of 15 unions to participate in the Commons Commission study of the teaching profession in California. As part of the emphasis on the teaching profession, the Union held a third QuEST conference.

In 1986, the Union established a scholarship in honor of Al Wright, former president and founding member, who died suddenly in the fall of 1985. The scholarship is given to a graduating senior each year who intends to pursue a teaching career.

***As bargaining agent the Union brought new vitality to teacher leadership.***

*Don Maxwell*

After many months of bargaining with the District over the implementation of a 7-period day for secondary schools and the demand for a decent salary settlement, agreement was finally reached in February 1987. Teachers won a 10% salary increase and partial coverage for retiree health benefits. The Union agreed to a pilot program for 7-period schedules at Harbor High School and Mission Hill Junior High School.

GSCFT was selected to be one of 6 AFT locals participating in the Educational Policy Trust Agreement sponsored by the California School Boards Association and the California Federation of Teachers. A Policy Trust Committee worked on a plan involving peer evaluation, completed by the end of the 87/88 school year. During the summer of 1988, Jeanette Miller and Emily Duffus were selected to serve as the first teacher consultants/peer evaluators. All new teachers were placed with a teacher consultant/peer evaluator. The evaluation of these teachers was a collaborative effort by the teacher consultant and the site administrator. Evaluations and a recommendation for rehire went to a Review Board composed of 3 union members and 3 district members who made the final recommendation to the Superintendent.

Three pilot programs for peer evaluation for tenured teachers were also initiated at Soquel High School and Bay View Elementary School. All programs received high marks for success at the end of the school year and recommended for expansion to all school sites in the fall of 1989.

The Federation joined other AFT locals of the Monterey Bay Area in sponsoring a fourth QuEST conference. Adam Urbanski, president of the Rochester, New York, AFT local and nationally recognized leader of the school restructuring movement was a key-note speaker.

The Policy Trust Agreements produced a more cooperative spirit between the District and the Federation. The District agreed to negotiate directly with the Union leadership without an attorney; as a result, negotiations were less adversarial and concluded by the end of September, 1988.

Because of District accounting errors, loss of enrollment and escalating health benefit costs, the year ended with a feeling of fiscal uncertainty. The collaborative process endured, however, as the District established a budget committee composed of Board members, District representatives and Union leaders to balance the budget. Attention then focused on the implementation of Proposition 98.

It has been the underlying principle of the Union to promote better conditions for teachers. While this translates to contract language and economic improvement on one level, it also demands a commitment to the improvement of schools through the professionalizing of teaching. Members of Local 2030 remain dedicated to this course.

(Don Maxwell, contributor)

# San Francisco Community College District Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 2121 Chartered 1970

San Francisco's Local 2121 was founded in 1970 after the Adult Division and City College of San Francisco separated from the San Francisco Unified School District (K-14) and joined together to become the San Francisco Community College District. The Adult Division offers non-credit courses at Centers located throughout the city, while City College offers transfer credit courses at its single campus. The District's uniqueness led to a uniqueness in the Union, in which part-time and non-credit faculty play a much larger role than in other community college unions.

Al Tapson, a vice-president of the national AFT and a history instructor at City College, was appointed to serve as 2121's first president. The new local created an Executive Board balanced with Centers and College faculty including part-timers. Dean Goodman, the Union's first elected president, aided by such activists as Ray Berard, Dick Kidd, Bob Dawson and Scott Amour, managed to lower the teaching load of non-credit faculty and put them on the same salary schedule as credit faculty.

*Local 2121 stops Prop 13 layoffs with massive demonstration*

In 1974, the larger CTA local refused to discuss our offer of merger, so the Union addressed the unorganized part-time faculty with a detailed proposal thereby winning their support and membership. In 1976, when PERB included both full-timers and part-timers in the collective bargaining unit, the Local's organizing efforts paid off in the most lopsided representational victory for the CFT over the CTA in California by a vote of 779 to 195. AFT Staff Rep Lloyd Zimmerman tirelessly helped President Jim Boyd, Laurie Fried Lee, Rodger Scott, Steve Levinson and Rosalie Wolf get out the vote. Although retired, Al Tapson lent his stature to gain critical support from his colleagues. The local was invigorated by enthusiastic volunteers: Tom Walsh wrote flyers; Sue Light, Sam Avila, Richard Esterman, Jim King, Jim Doherty, Otto Wendehost, Keith McAllister and Frank Cerrato ran membership drives; Sigi Isham organized social events; Martha Dickinson and Ray Westergard voiced part-timer issues; Willie Thompson, Nick Chang, Leo Sykes and Rita Wang drafted an affirmative action position; Ted Taylor and Don Liles organized opposition to Prop. 13 and the Brigg's initiative.

President Laurie Fried Lee led the first bargaining team which was ethnically integrated and balanced between College and Centers' reps including Kim Lee, Alicia Wang, Rosie Littleton, Tom Velasquez, Terry Alberigi, Larry Lawson and Edith Wellin. After protracted negotiations, mediation, fact-finding and a sanctioned strike threat, our first contract was ratified on December 4, 1979 by vote of all bargaining unit members. Even non-members were allowed to vote as they are to this day. We won binding arbitration, dental coverage for eligible part-timers, a past practice clause, a fixed number of sabbaticals and a 12.1/2% pay raise.

In 1980, the local began the Al Tapson COPE, honoring the local's first president soon after his death. COPE has endorsed many candidates and issues, but it wasn't until 1988 that, in conjunction with other faculty, staff groups, the San Francisco Labor Council, and with the able work of Guy De Primo, Edith Wellin, Lori Brooks, Dave Wall and Randi Slaughter, COPE succeeded in unseating an incumbent and electing a challenger to the Governing Board.

*Board members run a union gauntlet during 1985 contract fight*

By 1985, the Union clearly needed a full-time staff representative and hired Chris Hanzo, who has served ably and with dedication. Shortly after, the office and financial records were computerized by Frank Holden and Jim DeNoon, successors to Marge Stern and Leon Luey, meticulous treasurers of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

In March 1987, the local won its election for agency fee. President Anita Martinez, current President Mike Hulbert, and Ex-President Steve Levinson mobilized the membership and great excitement surrounded the strategy and planning. The local was assisted by the wisdom, experience and good humor of AFT Staffperson Mary Valentine. But the victory was due to the special efforts and personal contacts by devoted members such as Sue Light, Ron Bixler, Marianne Durand, Renato Larin, Robert Plotkowski, Julia Scholand, Annie Young, Rita Jones,



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Mary Thurber, James Ward and Alan Brooks.

As the Union had grown from about 200 members in 1976 to over 800 by 1987, there was a need to insure representation of the "silent majority." A plan for restructuring the local was developed by Anita Martinez, Rosalie Wolf, Patti Averbuck, Alex Alexander and Pierre Thiry. In April 1988, the membership approved the creation of a District-wide Representative Assembly, with 20 reps each from City College and the Centers, elected by separate precincts, plus the 16 Executive Board members, elected at large. Between the semi-annual membership meetings, this Assembly makes Union policy. Secretary Craig Machado has borne the burden of recording the business of the additional meetings cheerfully.

Over the years, the Union has been very active in establishing and defending faculty rights through the grievance procedure, arbitration, PERB and lawsuits. District-wide tenure was established when the Union won full-time positions for Rodger Scott, Julia Broccardo and Rita Wang, all part-timers who had exceeded the 60% law by teaching in both divisions. District-wide tenure was reaffirmed in the eleven year legal struggle and final Court of Appeals victory for disabled welding instructor, Peter Gianopoulus, who was awarded over $250,000 for pain and suffering, back pay and interest.

Through the efforts of Rodger Scott and Bob Bezemek, the Local's attorney, the Union recently won a precedent-setting Appellate Court decision favoring our position on unemployment rights for part-timers during intersession and summer break. In 1988, through the work of Steve Levinson, Mike Hulbert and David Wakefield, twenty English Department part-timers who had taught more than 60% of a load because of a composition differential won tenured, full-time jobs.

In the early 80s, a new gen-eration of part-timer activists such as Joe Berry, Cita Cook, Debra Asher and Barbara Shaw revived the Part-Timers' Committee and produced impressive informational flyers. In 1986, inspired by Dave Wakefield, the committee renamed itself the Full-Time Jobs Committee, and succeeded in convincing the Governing board to create ten new full-time positions. Toni Mester, Ellen Wall, Lori Brooks and Chris Shaeffer are among those currently leading the struggle for more rights and full-time jobs.

*Serenading the attendees of the District's 50th anniversary party during 1985 contract struggle*

Members have always been involved in social and political issues: the Nuclear Freeze (Billy Boyd); solidarity with the teachers' union in El Salvador, including the annual fund raising COSANDES run (Tomi Cunningham, Hilda Ayala, Jim McKinney and Renato Larin); the Anti-Apartheid Boycott of South Africa (Willie Thompson, Charlie Metzler, Leo Seidlitz). Chet Roaman and Diana Bernstein worked tirelessly to insure the adoption of a District AIDS education plan which has become a national model. Numerous other committees have kept the faculty informed and have served the local. The Elections Committee was ably chaired for over ten years by Lou Lindsey. Union Action, the local's newspaper, was edited by a series of energetic members: Dick Kidd, John Hare, Bill Grier, Mike Hulbert, Doris Cortez, Joan Rankin and Tom Doyle. Alan Brooks has provided much humor as chief cartoonist.

In nineteen years, a number of dedicated instructors have contributed their talents and efforts to establish a vibrant professional organization, Local 2121.

(Joe Berry, Mike Hulbert, Laurie Fried Lee, and Rodger Scott, contributors)

## OUR PRESIDENTS

**Al Tapson, formerly president of Local 61, vice-president of the national American Federation of Teachers, and... our first president, 1970-71.**

**Dean Goodman, 1971-73**

**Terry Alberigi, 1973-74**

**Bernie Fosten, 1974-76**

**Jim Boyd, 1976-78**

**Lauri Fried Lee, 1978-82**

**Steve Levinson, 1982-85**

**Anita Martinez, 1985-87**

**Mike Hulbert, 1987-present**



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# Coachella Valley Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 2247**
**Chartered 1972**

The Coachella Valley Federation of Teachers, Local 2247, was chartered in January of 1972. However, our origin goes back several years, when founder and organizer Stan Kay and others were politically active for many years in the Coachella Valley.

Palm Springs Desert Democratic Club president Stan Kay, a Coachella Valley High School teacher, was also a member of the Mexican-American Political Association, served on the executive board of the Palm Springs NAACP and was chairman of the CTA's Political Action Committee.

For years, many of us experienced the CTA's lack of expertise and commitment in representing teachers, particularly in job-related matters. We saw too many teachers intimidated, harassed and several probationary teachers dismissed on frivolous charges. In addition, most teachers were so afraid that they literally closed their classroom doors on their colleagues.

Ken Eastman, a teacher at Coachella Valley High School was asked to join. He readily agreed.

After the Palm Springs Desert Democratic Club meeting, Teilhet agreed to attend an AFT organizing meeting the following week. With Teilhet's assistance we organized the Coachella Valley Federation of Teachers with about 20 members from the three school districts, Palm Springs, Desert Sands and Coachella Valley High School.

Some of the charter members were: Ken Krall, Raul Loya, Ray Rodriguez, June Pausch, Stan Kay, Ken Eastman, Sam Smith, Johanna Herz, Bill Casper and Larry Hoffman. The new Local grew to 25-30 members throughout the Coachella Valley.

Bill Casper, a Coachella Valley High School speech teacher, was our first president. We elected him because of his charisma, popularity and keen intelligence. We knew that to survive and grow, we needed Bill's leadership.

***And there were times when we reached out to severe and tragic situations in the community itself, such as when the Garza family lost their home in a fire. We rose to the occasion, sponsoring emergency dance benefits to help them in their dire and desperate circumstance.***

When a teacher sought help, advice and representation from the CTA staff representative, often he or she was told that there was nothing that could be done. Many teachers either resigned or ate the harassment and humiliation of the administrators.

In October of 1971, the Palm Springs Democratic Club invited Raoul Teilhet, state president of the California Federation of Teachers, as its guest speaker. Stan Kay asked Raul Loya, Ray Rodriguez and several others from MAPA to attend the meeting, confer with Teilhet and help organize an AFT local. Then

Subsequently the school districts formed their individual locals. The only eventual survivor was the Coachella Valley Federation of Teachers, representing the Coachella Valley Unified School District.

In 1975 Local 2247, still a fledgling teachers union, sued the Coachella Valley Unified School District over inequitable fringe benefits. The CFT law firm won the case at the local level, but lost it in the Appeals Court. The significance here was that we raised vital issues and fought for them.

During the years of survival, Local

*Local officers in 1982-83, from left: Marilynn Krall, Servita Loya, Ken Krall, Sally Hamilton, and Kim Bickford*

2247 CVFT found its place as a teacher advocate. As the CTA chapter lost sight of the individual, the AFT Local filled the gap. We helped individual teachers whose personal needs were being neglected and soon CTA defections swelled and 2247 became the dominant teacher advocate in the district.

The CVFT ran decertification elections against the CTA chapter in 1974, 1981 and finally in 1984 became the bargaining agent representing over 400 teachers.

Since then, the Coachella Valley Federation of Teachers, under the able leadership of Kenneth Krall, has achieved giant strides in salary benefits for the members of the bargaining unit. Local 2247 has been active at the state level of the teachers union, too. Ken Krall has served as a CFT vice president for the past five years and has served on the state legal committee. And in 1982, Sally Hamilton was honored by her selection to be a member of the CFT Women in Education Committee.

The going has not always been smooth but by keeping a clear-cut goal of accepting, recognizing, representing and defending every teacher, the Union has prevailed. This is the message Local 2247 wants every young and struggling Local to hear.

As an addendum may we cite a few additional specific benefits. Namely, from its inception, our Local provided important services. We always retained a local lawyer whom any of our members could call upon for a free consultation and reduced fees on any civil matter. Of course, on school-related matters we consistently utilized the CFT's law firm.

We always have had a monthly newsletter, numerous socials including wine and cheese gatherings, house parties and made the Union an ambience of friendliness. We also over the years presented outstanding AFT state and national speakers.

And there were times when we reached out to severe and tragic situations in the community itself, such as when the Garza family lost their home in a fire. We rose to the occasion, sponsoring emergency dance benefits to help them in their dire and desperate circumstance.

Simply said, in all, we spearheaded Teacher Advocacy in the Coachella Valley, inspired by and based on both need and integrity. May that devout essence glow as a continuum for those who follow.

(Stan Kay, contributor)



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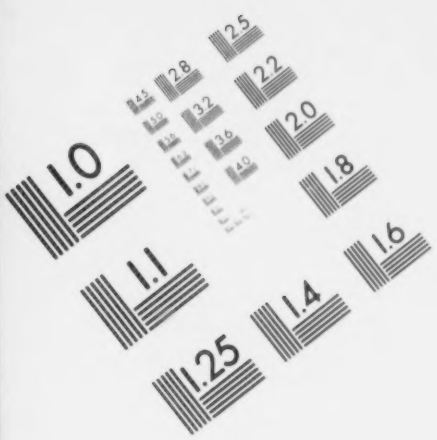


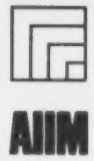

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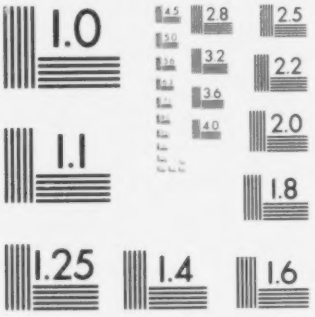


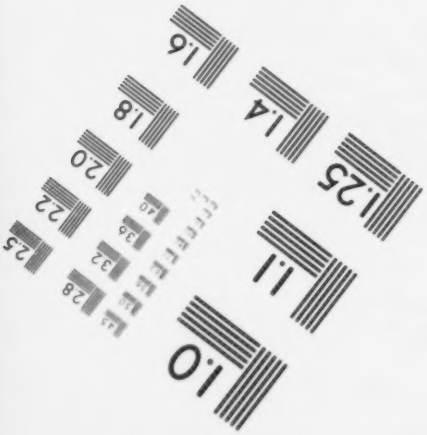


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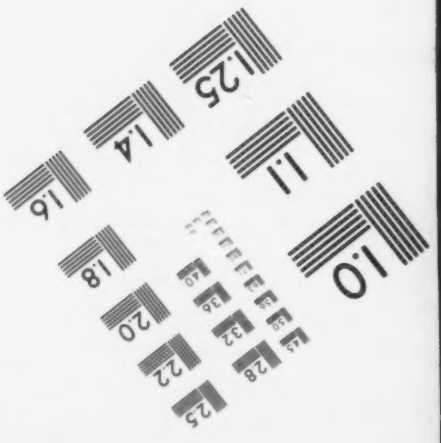

# Los Rios College Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 2279**
**Chartered 1972**

The Los Rios College Federation of Teachers, (LRCFT) Local 2279, AFT, AFL-CIO began in a way similar to that of most other AFT locals in California: a few teachers, unhappy because of the lack of leadership from the local NEA affiliate, decided to form a real teachers' union. A petition bearing some 45 signatures—all from the American River College (ARC) campus of the District—was filed with AFT and on April 1, 1972, the new local was chartered, its official name having been suggested by Raoul Teilhet, then president of the California Federation of Teachers.

Until the following September the local operated under the acting presidency of Les Lehr, ARC music department. Three one-year terms followed, bringing into the office Byron Patterson, David Gamst and Bob Dasch, all of ARC. These were the "pre-collective bargaining" years, during which the new local laid its foundation. The local took on grievances, spoke out at Board of Trustee meetings, published a newsletter, and sent delegates to Central Labor Council meetings. The local acquired a reputation for being aggressively and unabashedly pro-teacher. Membership increased and spread to the other campuses of the District.

In 1975 Paul Oehler, the first president from Sacramento City College, was elected, and the local established two-year terms for the presidency. This year the legislature approved collective bargaining for teachers. For the next two years, before the new law was actually implemented, LRCFT leaders prepared diligently for the election battle.

New president Ken Humphreys (SCC) had the honor in 1977 of leading the underdog union into the long awaited, first-ever collective bargaining election. Assisted greatly by AFT organizer Kelli Gardiner, LRCFT won the election, but only after a run-off. In the initial election on October 5, 1977, LRCFT garnered 514 votes to 494 for the opposition, with 62 voting "no rep." In the run-off six weeks later, LRCFT increased its take to 601 with only 509 going to the other side. Then, with the help of AFT bargaining expert, Vinnie Russell, the local signed its first three-year contract with the District.

Scarcely was the ink dry when, during the joint presidency of Don McHugh (SCC) and Gary Strauss (SCC), LRCFT had to face another challenge: a decertification attempt by the Association. By this time, however, the Federation's reputation had been so solidly established that it beat back the decertification attempt by a margin of 542 to 445 with only 36 "no rep" votes. More teachers joined.

Sue Noland (ARC, 1981-1983) and Jonathan Brosin (SCC, 1983-1985) followed as local presidents during which time the local continued to grow and to become more sophisticated in the art of negotiations, grievances, communications, and in teacher representation generally, including the organizing of a full scale demonstration on the steps of the state capitol on the matter of funding for the community colleges. In 1984, rumblings from the CTA did not materialize into a full-blown challenge because the opposition was unable to gather enough signatures to force an election.

Pat Kirklin, (SCC, 1985-1987) the local's chief negotiator for some years previously, had to solve a severe financial deficit in addition to the normal union problems such as the restructuring of the executive board. This was further complicated by the departure of the local's executive secretary, Larkie Gildersleeve. Without the funds to hire a new executive secretary, Kirklin took on the job himself along with the responsibilities of the presidency.

When the local's finances improved enough to hire a new staff person, it was decided that the size of the local and the complexity of the job would require upgrading the position. After a careful search and hours of interviewing, Sheryl

Pettitt was hired as the local's first executive director.

LRCFT was becoming a full-service local. The grievance system was further refined under the direction of Ken Lynch, who was able to resolve most grievances at the campus or district levels.

But quiet times were not to last. Contract negotiations stalled and, for the first time in the history of the district, faculty action had to go beyond the bargaining table. A Job Action committee to deal with the situation was formed with Bill Mahan appointed chairman. The local and the faculty senates agreed to boycott committee meetings. Faculty members picketed all three campuses and the district office. Finally a vote of no confidence was taken against the chancellor. Before the election results were announced, the district reconsidered the main issues and agreement was reached. The contract contained a pay increase provision that provided for increases to be based directly on incoming state funds as they were received. Affectionately termed the "trombone clause," salary adjustments were made four times in the first year.

In the final months of Kirklin's presidency, Richard Hemann was hired as executive director.

In 1987 Mike Crowley became the first president to be elected from Consumnes River College. The CTA called for a decertification election that spring. This time they had been able to get enough valid signatures by canvassing the part-timers. Crowley and Hemann were assisted by Tom Martin, Larry Bordan, Julie Minard and others from the CFT staff in trouncing the CTA forces 632 to 313. A new contract was then negotiated under the direction of co-chairs Pat Kirklin and Ken Lynch. The LRCFT "trombone clause" continued in the new agreement, and by the end of 1988, with the contract in effect for eighteen months, faculty pay gains had averaged nearly one percent per month.

In January of 1989 Crowley became the first president to serve a second term. As Local 2279 heads into another negotiations period, the 18-year-old local has definitely come of age and continues to exert leadership in state and local teacher affairs.

(Byron Patterson, contributor)

*LRCFT Executive Board, from left: Eula Dean, Tess Enroth, Pat Kirklin, Carolyn Jewett, Jim Comins, Bob Dasch, Mike Crowley, Dick Hemann, Chris Iwata, Tom English, Lois Seward, Dick Gillies, Jonathan Brosin, Junia Wager, Fred Milstein (several not present)*





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# Poway Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 2357**
**Chartered 1972**

April 27, 1973

Mr. Ted Roybal
743 Balboa Court
San Diego, California 92109

Dear Mr. Roybal:

Your recent letter is insolent and presumptious. Since you are, apparently, too dense to grasp the situation, let me state some plain facts:

1. I am the Superintendent; you are a teacher.
2. I give the directives; you carry them out-not vice versa.

The letter is being placed in your personnel file to illustrate the tactics of harassment which you practice. Any similar letters will also be placed in your file; however, I shall not dignify them with a reply.

Fred G. Craig
Superintendent

vwe
cc: Personnel

As you can tell, our first years as an organization were a bit stormy. We had started two years before this incident with six members, Ted Roybal as our first president and Wanda Faust as our vice-president. Many of us had been upset with the way teachers were treated in Poway, but Ted was the real organizer. Under his leadership we won the right to use mailboxes and began our growth as an organization.

Wanda Faust also encountered Superintendent Craig's diplomatic ways, as is demonstrated by the last paragraphs of 3-6-73 and 4-2-73 letters to Wanda:

> Wanda, your activities have reached the point where they are considerably more than a nuisance. Henceforth, I intend to document each violation of district policy or procedure. Unless you conduct your activities in an honest, open and approved fashion, I shall be forced to take appropriate disciplinary and/or dismissal action against you.
>
> I also suggest that you not waste everyone's time by making any Board presentations. The Board and I see eye to eye in this matter, and the only way we intend to modify our stand is to have a court order us to do so. In my opinion, the legal gobbledegook cited by Holden is pure hogwash. If not, bring on your high-powered legal staff; we are quite prepared to defend our position in court. This determination has been amply demonstrated in the three lawsuits brought by Mr. Daniel Nasman, who, significantly, is no longer with us.

We continued to "waste everyone's time" and the organization grew. Supt. Craig was later returned to the classroom by the Board of Education and "significantly, is no longer with us."

PFT organized around such issues as 6th grade camp, Supt. Craig's salary freeze, school board elections, Stull Act evaluations, Title IX enforcement, vouchers, year-round schools, collective bargaining, and enforcement of the Special Education requirements. Although educational issues had priority, PFT also supported the social issues of the day such as the grape boycott and the J.P. Stevens strike.

By the time of the Rodda Act of 1976, PFT was a credible organization. Anna Wilson was our president during this meet and confer time and continued to be active throughout the first very arduous negotiations. Anna continues to be active today.

Wanda Faust was president when PFT won the first collective bargaining election on December 6, 1976. We had less than 25% of the teachers as members but we won because we were willing to confront the administration with the issues. Faust was also an active vice-president of the California Federation of Teachers for over 10 years, CFT's first chairperson of the Women in Education Committee in 1971, chair of the Teacher Legal Defense Fund and received the CFT Teacher Rights Award.

In these early years of bargaining, when we spent hundreds of hours at the bargaining table, Twin Peaks School, with almost 100% membership, was a lifesaver. Thanks to Tony Bechtold, Don Raczka, and many others, any projects that needed to be done could be sent to Twin Peaks.

Our first bargaining team was made up of Wanda Faust, chief negotiator, Don Raczka, Warren Abraham, Jim Barter, Kim Modell and Tom Bankhead. This represented a coalition of members of both teacher organizations and one non-affiliated teacher. Joanne Peterson, Bill Chiment, Dan White, Kevin Dorward, Bob Bjorkquist and Jim Schanback were added for the second set of negotiations. Wanda, Don, Kim and Jim continued.

The teachers and many community members were also supportive when a billboard was sponsored to demonstrate our plight in October 1976, "WELCOME TO POWAY, HOME OF THE LOWEST PAID TEACHERS of all 81 comparable

California districts," and when we had a march down Poway Road September 27, 1979.

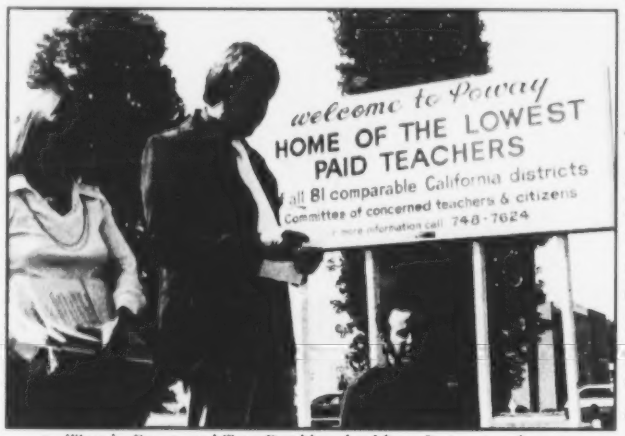
Essie Ricketson has made many contributions through the years. She has been a County Labor Council Delegate, CLUW president, and CFT Women in Education Committee member, as well as organizer of two art auctions, our Title IX expert and great writer of flyers. Essie has received the CFT Teacher Rights Award and the CFT Women in Education Award.

Our first full-time president in 1981 was Don Raczka, a member of many negotiating teams, organizer of negotiation activities, and a COPE award recipient. Don fought the battle against teacher layoffs when there was a $2.4 million error and Poway received 0% from the state, and made another effort to achieve unity in forming the United Educators of Poway. UEP was elected the collective bargaining agent but CTA's constitution prohibited this united teacher organization. Currently Don's mentor project helps set standards throughout the country. This Professional Assistance Program, with a union majority on the governance committee, provides full-time teacher consultants to induct and evaluate all new teachers.

By the 1983-84 school year, membership had grown to 69%, a 23% increase over the last three years of Bill Chiment and Don Raczka's terms as president.

Returning as a full-time president, Bill Chiment, another seasoned negotiator and CFT vice-president, expanded the professional role of teachers in our district by developing the mentor teacher program with a teacher-elected selection committee. He also got Poway teachers involved in the educational reform movement through the Forum on the Teaching Profession, the California legislature's Blue Ribbon Commission. A scholarship program for high school students was also expanded.

Jim Dyer, a CFT vice-president and PFT president from 1985-87, participated on five bargaining teams, negotiated the Monthly Forum with the superintendent and instituted the annual training workshop for building representatives. Also during Jim's term, forty-three teachers were properly placed on the salary schedule and received back pay, and CFT awarded Poway special recognition for membership growth. The membership award was for the highest membership percentage in the state for a union that has voluntary membership.


welcome to Poway
HOME OF THE LOWEST
PAID TEACHERS
of all 81 comparable California districts
Committee of concerned teachers & citizens
for more information call 748-7624

*Wanda Faust and Tom Bankhead address Poway teachers at demonstration in front of billboard paid for by PFT and Poway Faculty Association to illustrate district teachers' plight in 1976.*

Our current president, Bill Crawford, has continued our tradition of vigorously defending teachers' rights. In addition, a number of seeds planted in past years have come to flower. The Mentor Teacher project of Don Raczka has become a union-management partnership to support and evaluate first year teachers. Hourly teachers have been placed on the uniform salary schedule, and the district has agreed to provide after-school child care for teachers' children. AFT President Al Shanker was invited by the district to address an all-teacher meeting. Most hopefully, we are working with the district toward a mature, non-adversarial bargaining model. Thus far have we come from the days of "I am the Superintendent, you are a teacher."

This sounds like a success story of presidents, but it has been the success story of more than these people—everyone from the secretaries, Lillian Hecht and Jenny Humphrey Savage, to the CFT staff and leadership, and most of all to the members and supporters, past and present.

We continue to negotiate and to fight the battles for teachers that Ted began.

Most recent negotiating team members were Bill Crawford, chief nego-tiator, Dick Bosworth, Brigitte Haley, Eunice Heidiman, Rick Mercurio, Tom Salston, and Jim Shadoan. PFT has made progress in the area of salary and fringe benefits; no longer are we 81st out of the 81 comparable districts in California! We are also incorporating more educational issues into our negotiations and agreements as we continue to defend teacher rights through grievances and unfair labor practices when necessary.

Many present and past PFT activists are in leadership positions in the County and State Departments of Education as well as mentor teachers, principals and vice-principals.

There were six members when we started in 1971. Today we have twenty *schools* with about 75% membership. **With membership of more than 750 teachers, PFT is one of the 100 largest K-12 locals in the American Federation of Teachers (AFT)!**

(Wanda Faust, contributor)



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# Turlock American Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 2424**
**Chartered 1973**

Turlock teachers first affiliated with AFT-CFT in 1972, through a Modesto local. In 1973 the group was chartered as the Turlock American Federation of Teachers #2424. Charter members included: Juan Adrover, Denis Chamberlain, Harvey Litvack, John Smith, James Biever, Robert Edwards, George Owings, Edward Brault, Mary K. Holden, and Mary Jean Parton. Ed Brault became our first president, Denis Chamberlain vice-president, Mary K. Holden, treasurer, and Bob Edwards, secretary. Ed Brault heightened interest in the organization through his writing of TAFT's newsletter: "The Roaring Mouse."

***Salaries were of great importance, but it was generally agreed that we would never accept a raise as a tradeoff for giving up teacher rights and protection.***

Membership increased to 32. Denis Chamberlain became president in 1974. We affiliated with the Central Labor Council at that time and Jim Biever was appointed delegate. The calm of "meet and confer" negotiations was shattered in 1976 with the passage of the collective bargaining act and CTA's decision to eliminate AFT locals rather than form coalitions with them. Dual members were urged by CTA to resign from AFT-CFT-TAFT. Three organizations: the Professional Educator Group (PEG), TAFT, and TTA (Turlock Teachers Association-CTA) then competed to become the bargaining agent.

In 1975, Denis Chamberlain turned the leadership over to Dan Larson. At this point the future looked bleak for the fledgling organization. Membership had dropped sharply as a result of CTA's campaign. There was a crisis of leadership. No one wished to become president. After a considerable search, Jim Biever agreed to accept the presidency.

Beginning in 1976, all three organizations began campaigning to become the bargaining agent. There were differences among the organizations as to whether the bargaining agent should be for both the elementary and high school districts or represent them separately. The Educational Employees Relations Board held a hearing in 1977 to determine the outcome. The EERB, later to be renamed PERB, ruled that the districts were separate and that each should have a bargaining agent.

TAFT held a decided disadvantage: of 117 teachers in the high school district, TAFT had only 11 members while PEG had 30, and TTA had 66 members. Jim Biever, as president was given help and advice from past presidents Ed Brault, Denis Chamberlain, and Dan Larson. The major issues in the election were independence of local action, difference in the cost of dues, forced agency shop fees, keeping the membership informed, and secrecy of action by the CTA leadership.

The break came shortly before the election when the PEG leadership decided to ask its membership to support TAFT in the election at the high school. This coalition of 11 TAFT members, 30 PEG members, and a considerable number of TTA members who crossed over, produced a TAFT election victory of 59 to 45.

TAFT grew quickly. Negotiations with the district were long and hard during the early years. TAFT's first

priority was to negotiate a contract that would provide teacher protection. Salaries were of great importance, but it was generally agreed that we would never accept a raise as a tradeoff for giving up teacher rights and protection.

The district was determined not to negotiate at all. Unfair labor practices were filed against the high school which resulted in the district being given some 39 citations for unfair labor practices. From this time forward the district did negotiate although unwillingly. Denis Chamberlain acted as chief negotiator for 6 years to be followed by Dan Larson.

In 1984 elections for the presidency of TAFT were hotly contested. After eight years as president and two previous challenges, Jim Biever was defeated by George King. George King served one year and was then promoted to principal of Roselawn Continuation High School. Eric Julien, vice-president, Al Berg, treasurer, and Ken Donaldson, secretary & benefits chairperson, also turned over their positions at about the same time after many years of service. Ron Scheer ran unopposed for the presidency in 1985 and continues to serve in that capacity. Dan Larson continues to serve on the negotiations committee. Jesse Cone continues his many years as grievance chairman. Jim Biever continues as delegate to the Central Labor Council and was elected Secretary-Treasurer in 1987.

TAFT remains strong and has a membership of 73. In recent years animosity has declined as the district has gradually accepted the necessity of negotiations.

Under the leadership of Ron Scheer the teachers now have representation on district committees and have voting advantages on the district budget committee, lottery committee, health benefits committee, and curriculum council (a faculty senate).

The current elected officers: Ron Scheer, president, Megan Boyle, vice-president, Dale Pollard, secretary, and Nancy Main, treasurer, along with the rest of the members of TAFT are pro-active and play important roles in the planning and development of their school, its curriculum, climate, budgets and negotiations.

**History of TC-AFT 2424, Classified Unit of TAFT**

TC-AFT represents the Office Technical Business Services Unit which consists of clerical employees, instructional aides and campus supervisors of Turlock High School and Roselawn Continuation High School and the Turlock Adult School.

In January, 1986 members of the classified unit, dissatisfied with the representation of C.S.E.A., discussed the possibility of changing their union affiliation.

After meeting with TAFT president Ron Scheer, certificated members voted and approved the addition of a classified unit to their organization.

Mary Venema, Administrative Secretary, requested a meeting with AFT field representative Sheryl Pettitt. Sheryl met with members and informed them of the benefits of AFT representation. After several meetings, the decision was made to decertify from C.S.E.A.

The Office Technical and Business Services Unit was decertified from C.S.E.A. in September, 1986, following months of campaigning and a somewhat bitter election.

The negotiating team of Ardyce Reisenauer, Linda Sutton, Mary Venema and CFT Representative Bill Callahan have made significant improvements in the contract during the past three years, including longevity pay, vacation increases and reclassifications for more than half of the unit members.

(Ron Scheer, contributor)

***Unfair labor practices were filed against the high school which resulted in the district being given some 39 citations for unfair labor practices.***

***In recent years animosity has declined as the district has gradually accepted the necessity of negotiations.***

# Ocean View Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 3174**
**Chartered 1973**

OVFT began under the presidency of Bettye (Jeffris) Berg with seven members in the 1971-72 year as a chapter of the Oxnard Federation of Teachers. This caused the creation of a Certificated Employees Council for "meet and confer" purposes under the Winton Act. OVFT had one rep on the first CEC.

In the 1973-74 year, we were chartered with ten members. Our first CFT convention, in Fresno, was an exciting introduction to the politics of the CFT and AFT. We watched as Dave Selden and Al Shanker positioned themselves in their run for AFT President. We felt enormous exhilaration as we cast OVFT's one vote to join the smaller locals in outvoting San Francisco and UTLA on a roll call vote.

***We felt enormous exhilaration as we cast OVFT's one vote to join the smaller locals in outvoting San Francisco and UTLA on a roll call vote.***

During the CEC years, OVFT member Susan (Capraro) Westbrook was elected chief negotiator. At our peak, just before the first CB election, we had three of the nine CEC members. In these years, we studied the budget through the help of the CFT workshops. We published flyers and newsletters with information gleaned from the budget. We used only recycled computer paper—to prove we didn't waste members' dues money.

OVFT was the first organization to take the position that the needs of limited-English speaking students were not being met in our District.

In February 1977, we lost the first collective bargaining election. Somehow, in the atmosphere of the day, Raoul Teilhet's consolation message made us believe we had won a major victory.

In April 1978, OVFT Marilyn Peterson was appointed as a Vice-president of the CFT. She has continued to serve to the present. We continue publishing the *Ocean Viewpoint*, the only newsletter in the district which regularly raises local issues. Sue Westbrook and Marilyn Peterson are active in the CFT's Non-Bargaining Agents Committee.

We have waged three hotly contested and bitterly fought decertification elections since 1977. We have never come as close as we did that first year.

*Lynn Miller, Marilyn Peterson, Frank Samuels, c.1977*

However, a few of us continue with unyielding commitment to the ideals of the AFT and refuse to give up our local.

(Marilyn Peterson, contributor)



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# Ohlone College Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 3200**
**Chartered 1973**

In late 1973, twenty-five of the sixty-one full-time instructors became charter members of the new AFT Local 3200 at Ohlone College in Fremont. The list of officers is as follows: President, Carolyn Strickler; Vice-President, Barton Stillman; Secretary, Larry Weiner; Treasurer and Founding Father, Frank Kahl. Major issues faced by the union included:

1) Weekly student contact hours (alias class size)

2) Selection of a new president for the college

3) Consideration of changing to a semester system

4) Division vs. Department organizational setup

5) Salary and fringe benefits

6) 50% Law

7) Ratio of full to part-time faculty

Our purpose as a professional advocacy organization was (and is) to represent faculty with common problems, concerns, and interests in bettering education. We instructors are not only the workers, but also the experimentalists and the theoreticians in the field of education.

*Larry Weiner*

We are therefore determined not to be left out of the decision-making process.

*Frank Kahl*

In the sixteen years of our existence, certain people have contributed significantly to our local and their efforts should be noted. We would like to acknowledge Frank Kahl who organized us and started our local; Carolyn Strickler who has represented us for several years as President of OFT; Bart Stillman who has spent many hours of his time making sure that due process be followed in cases involving faculty members here at the college; and Larry Weiner who has represented us on both our independent organization and college wide committees.

*Carolyn Strickler*

*Bart Stillman*

We look upon our current local independent faculty organization and recall that before it was created, we had a sizeable CFT AFT chapter on campus. In order to gain the membership of the CTA and CFT groups we informally agreed to organize an independent group, called UFO. We have kept a small CFT AFT local, Ohlone Federation of Teachers, Local 3200 and may someday expand its base.

For now, the United Faculty of Ohlone seems to be the most workable arrangement for the majority of us. A few will maintain membership in FACCC, AFT, and UFO.

(Carolyn Strickler, contributor)



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# Jefferson Elementary Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 3267
## Chartered 1975

Let's admit that, in 1975, we didn't know what we were doing.

We became an official Local one afternoon that year in our President John Chronis' favorite Greek restaurant in Daly City. We were just a chapter of the successful High School District AFT then (since at least 1960) and we planned to stay that way. That's what we told Raoul Teilhet that afternoon—he had come up to grant us a Local Charter. We then voted against the charter. Raoul then, unmoved by this "democratic confusion," gave us our charter.

Long before this, our District had been part of a CTA Golden Age. The Superintendent had been a CTA President; so had a number of principals. All administrators were CTA members. We had little to do except be official AFL-CIO members, criticize everyone, and get our names put up on faculty-room bulletin boards for not being CTA members. Bob Lasley, John Chronis, Linda Peebles, and Vern Mara kept the AFT going all this time. None of us had much hope for change; we just wanted to be part of the Union, and we were.

Times did change, though. A new school board was elected which was apparently tired of the uppity CTA. It fired the Superintendent. Instead of making the next CTA president a principal, it fired him too! Somewhere in here, the Winton Act was invented. The Board met and conferred, and then it did as it pleased. We called for Collective Bargaining in our flyers; CTA retorted that bargaining was for plumbers! Some teachers remembered that plumbers were making more money than teachers; we got a few new members.

CTA then decided that if the Board would not admire it, then it must be *made* to do so. Thus, in 1971 we found ourselves On Strike! We were told that this was the first CTA-led strike; if not, it certainly seemed like it. But we were called upon to get Labor Council sanctions for the strike, so that the schools could be shut down. We did it, but then it was remembered that the principals were also CTA members, and had been allowed to remain on the job (!) and so the principals reminded us strikers that if we didn't let these maintenance guys and electricians and garbage men through the picket-lines, then the school would have to close down, which was against the principal fellow-members' best interests, so, of course, we were directed to let the puzzled workers cross the picket-lines. That is the kind of thing that psychiatrists call *neurotic*.

The strike lasted five weeks, even though the only issue, after the first day, was whether or not we could get our jobs back. Raoul came up and walked the line and spoke to teachers, over and over, and when we finally slunk back in, we got a few more members.

When collective bargaining became the law, Chronis couldn't get enough cards signed for us to be on the ballot. CTA claimed, by this time, to have *invented* collective bargaining, along with the airplane and the game of baseball. John decided that he had done his part for the Union (as he had!) and we elected new officers, Jim Herndon, Arpine Tateosian, Carol Burgoa and David Wright. Herndon served as front-man, Tateosian did all the real work so that he'd be able to remember what was going on, Wright and Burgoa began to organize. The Board did not admire the CTA any more than it had before; it filed out-of-scope charges on everything in the canned CTA contract-proposal. CTA filed counter-charges, and PERB argued about it for some years. CTA signed a hasty, regressive contract.

That was when things got interesting, for right there in black and

**THE GOOD OLD DAYS**

*Imagine if you will, reader,* those days when the district was truly paternal!
When the District was benevolent!
Imagine a time when the JCTA was synonymous with the district!
When your principal was a member of the JCTA, as you were yourself. He encouraged you to join it.
Your Superintendent was a member.
When Presidency in the JCTA was regarded as a training-ground for a principalship or even, as it might turn out, a Superintendency.
When, if you intended to acquire units, in order to advance on the salary schedule, you got them approved by a JCTA committee. When, if you deserved a sabbatical, your request was approved by JCTA.
When teachers considered themselves fortunate to be in the JSD, where the board, the administration and the teachers worked together, when an idea like academic *freedom* was a significant issue, and - less important - when teachers of the JSD were paid more than elsewhere.
Oh, there were minor, rebellious attempts, in public meetings, to change or resist Board JCTA policy, but these were easily squelched by Principals, acting as Parliamentarians.
It was a little Golden Age, then.
It was also a time when jobs were plentiful everywhere.

—from "A Concise History of the J.S.D., or The Intelligent Teacher's Guide to the Decertification Election, Part 1: A Service of the Historical Division, Local 3267, AFT" [aka Jim Herndon]

white was a deal that teachers would all spend a week in June *after* school was out, a *mandatory*, unpaid week in so-called in-service! No one really thought it would actually happen—just a bargaining ploy, we may have thought—but, in the last week of school, CTA lawyers told us we had to do it.

Up to now, this must seem to be more a history of the CTA and the District, than of Local 3267. But *now*, let's admit, we suddenly *did* know what we were doing. Wright called up Marie Whipp who expressed-up those wonderful, yellow AFT T-shirts, enough for all our members and plenty left over for our new members and, on that blue Monday, we became the leadership of the Jefferson School District. Tateosian had the message—passive resistance, perhaps we'll call it—and organized all teachers around it. The big-shot, imported, idiot in-servicers came with their film-strips and such; teachers kept total discipline (their reps now wore the yellow AFT shirts!) and didn't yell or demonstrate or break things, just paid no attention, turned their backs, read, played cards, chatted quietly, as if the in-servicers weren't there. The in-servicers couldn't bear it; most packed up and left. The District couldn't bear it either and called it off after three days.

(We don't mean to imply that the above was *fun*; it was *awful*, no one who was there will ever forget it, but it worked, and it may have been the first action teachers in the Jefferson School District took that had worked).

Briefly then, the "success" part. The contract was up and no new one in sight (PERB still arguing) and we held a social that fall and got over 65% of teachers to sign cards for a representational election then and there. Don Lowry and Rich Mortola joined our team and we campaigned three days every week, after school, in faculty-rooms (there were 15 schools) all year long. We began to know our lines by heart; it may be that many teachers did too. We figured to win by a landslide. (We must mention here the artist, Dennis Carr, who made our flyers look like Michaelangelo.) CTA perhaps thought so too, and got PERB to call off the election on the grounds of the old, unsettled, out-of-scope charges. We got more cards signed though, and campaigned the same way again, calling for Unity and so on, and in 1980 PERB finally allowed the election to proceed; Norma Labrador drove 10 teachers at a time, all day long, to the polls, and may have lectured them a bit, and we indeed won by a landslide—that is, by two votes. It is a good thing we did, since we had gotten lots of help and advice from Tom Martin and Raoul and National AFT Reps and, admittedly, didn't always take the advice. There followed another year in court, since CTA accused Martin and Herndon of illegally embracing women-teachers on their way in to vote. The election was finally allowed to stand. The judge wrote that even though Martin and Herndon probably *did* embrace these ladies, those embraces had no effect on the outcome.

Outside of the terrible effect of that judgment on Martin's and Herndon's vanity, the rest is normal. We signed our first contract in 1981, a very good one, we think, with excellent medical benefits, early-retirement options, job and transfer protection—plus good money. Dorothy Baylin, Karen Boyle, Phil Davis and Dolly Keefe had joined the bargaining team. We had invaluable help from Tom Martin. Later, CTA made a couple of half-hearted attempts to de-certify us; now we *did* win by landslides. We've just bargained our third, 3-year contract now; we've added better class-size language, gotten back sabbaticals, improved retiree-options and benefits, got decent money, and kept the good things we had. Chronis, Mara, Herndon and Tateosian have retired. Lasley, Peebles, Burgoa, Mortola and Lowry have resigned. We've a new President, Adrienne Zanini, new officers, Jason Anderson, Patrice Duffy, Carolyn Jaramillo, Richard Martin, Maxine Riley, Pat McGraw. We have super Building Reps. We've got about 35 new teachers this year, Maxine is the Mentor Teacher for new teachers, and you can bet they'll get organized. We guess we're in business.

(The Historical Division, Local 3267, AFT/AFL-CIO, contributor)

**ON STRIKE...**

The district fired every striking teacher immediately!

An army of scabs crawled forth from under rocks and out of asylums.

A problem surfaced; principals of schools *were fCTA members* (and even leaders). But principals were given *waivers*, were given *permission*, to go to work, against their fellow members on the picket line.

Often, those principals welcomed the scabs, and walked out to picket lines to tell teachers they could do without them.

Teachers began to get the idea that there was something wrong with such a strike, and such an organization.

—from "A Concise History of the JSD, or The Intelligent Teacher's Guide to the Decertification Election, Part 2: A Service of the Historical Division, Local 3267, AFT"

# Weaver Federation of Teachers

**AFT Local 3484**
**Chartered 1975**

The Weaver Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 3484 was chartered in 1975. The charter president was Steve Becker; other charter members included Lou and Del Meyer, Dave Aubertin, Karen Patterson, Karen Green, Greg Bender, Emmett Mullen, Rose Valdez, and Margaret Phillips. The first AFT representative was Maurice Fitzpatrick, later followed by Marian Hull.

This was a group of teachers that did not wish to be controlled any longer by CTA and their Burlingame headquarters. It was also opposed to agency shop, and wanted to be represented by an organization that was affiliated with organized labor. Since these teachers knew that a collective bargaining law for teachers was about to take effect, they wanted the support and expertise of a real union — not an Association that had opposed collective bargaining for years. They wanted the democratic right to vote on ratification of contracts and bargaining power at the table. And dues for the AFT were considerably lower than dues for the CTA, too.

In May, 1976, before the election Raoul Teilhet came to visit teachers at the Weaver School lounge. During lunch he gave an inspiring talk, giving undecided teachers something to think about. One of the things he talked about was the need for teacher unity. Unfortunately the local CTA chapter wasn't interested in merger proposals. The election was extremely close, but the Weaver Federation of Teachers lost by 2 votes.

This might have been the end of the story, but it wasn't. Many teachers were dissatisfied with their representation by the Association. They weren't alone. The Weaver classified employees were also dissatisfied with their representation, or rather lack of it. They had no contract and no power. The district had had the same board president and superintendent for almost 20 years. The District would tell classified employees, "You can have 2 or 3%".

Finally, on one of the coldest, foggiest nights ever, the entire classified employees unit met at the home of Mel Branco and all agreed that they weren't feeling very good about the situation; in fact they weren't feeling well at all. They felt so bad that the next day they all called in sick. There were no bus drivers, aides, janitors, or cafeteria workers at school. Radio station KYOS reported that there was a "strange illness" at Weaver School. Parents were calling because their children were not picked up. The District called for substitute drivers and a few showed up to drive. But most busses on the streets had principals and vice-principals directing substitute drivers at the wheel. They were not professionals, though. The way you could tell that was when busses passed busses on the same street in opposite directions, with confused-looking drivers staring startled at one

***These three individuals promised to support the classified workers in the District and the needs of education. The local produced many volunteers from its ranks. Members wrote and printed literature, went door to door, and held house meetings. In November all three candidates were elected members of the Weaver School Board.***

another. It was all a complete surprise to the classified employees, who didn't really think that they could do it.

Dave Aubertin called California Federation of Teachers rep Marian Hull. She helped the Weaver classified run an election, and on March 16, 1981 they voted 46-3 to become affiliated with the AFT/CFT. A letter from first president Sherry Hymer announced the change on March 19. They were now to be called the Weaver Classified Employees Association of the Weaver Federation of Teachers, AFT, AFL-CIO, Local 3484. Hull gave assistance in negotiating the first contract, which included raises of 9, 9, and 9% over 3 years.

When Hymer resigned from the school, Mel Branco was elected the new president. She is still serving.

One of the major accomplishments of Local 3484 occurred in 1985. Neither teachers nor classified workers were satisfied with the performance of Superintendent Roy Ward and Board President Vanzile. Local 3484 found three candidates to run for the Weaver School Board election. All three had a reputation for fairness and possessed educational backgrounds. They included: Elizabeth McCabe, with a background in education and farming; Delores Cabezut-Ortiz, educator and author at Merced College; and Geri Procetto, Merced County Courts Recorder and active in community organizations.

These three individuals promised to support the classified workers in the District and the needs of education. The local produced many volunteers from its ranks. Members wrote and printed literature, went door to door, and held house meetings. In November all three candidates were elected members of the Weaver School Board.

The hiring practices were very poorly organized and arbitrary. The last bus driver that Ward hired was at step 7, top wage. No other employee had ever been hired at any step other than first, including one driver/custodian who had worked for fourteen years, left, and came back — to be hired at step one again! The classification system needed revision. By then our CFT rep was Bill Callahan. He got to work on designing a new system.

On December 12, 1986 the new board announced that Superintendent Roy Ward would be replaced by Principal Steve Becker (yes, the charter president of AFT Local 3484) on January 5, 1987. Callahan and Branco presented a proposal for a new classification system to Becker and the Board. They agreed the old system was unfair, changed it, and awarded compensation of advancement to the third step to 14-year employee Bill Buendia Jr. Money awards of $1000 each went to the three most senior drivers, Jean Souza, Mary Hernandez, and Grant Baker. Two other drivers, Willie Bledsoe and Lloyd Branco, and twenty year Custodian Frank Alonzo split $1000. These settlements were due to the ability of the local and the new board and superintendent to work together.

There are many changes at Weaver School: four new buses, computers in classrooms, newly constructed school offices, teachers lounge, workrooms and cafeteria additions. Student enrollment has enlarged from 500 to 1100. Thirteen new mobile units have been installed to accomodate enrollment. Plans to build another elementary school in Weaver District have been passed by the Board.

Our negotiations sessions have become more pleasant. The District and the Federation can trust each other to work to the advantage of employees, students and better education.

(Mel Branco, contributor)

***...all agreed that they weren't feeling very good about the situation; in fact they weren't feeling well at all. They felt so bad that the next day they all called in sick.***

# North Monterey County Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 4008 Chartered 1979

The story of the North Monterey County Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 4008, begins before collective bargaining came to the district. In fact, it begins before North Monterey County High School came to the district, which is where the local was founded.

In the winter of 1977-78, teachers Neil Agron and Stephanie Smith were hired by the District to help plan the opening of a new high school nestled among the artichoke fields. They were teaching in other districts at the time, and drove together back and forth to the San Jose Airport a number of times. It was during one of their conversations on that drive that the subject of teacher unions came up. They had discovered that the CTA had been recognized by the district to represent teachers in the North Monterey School District in 1976 after the Rodda Act had passed, and that it had been unable to negotiate a contract since. Agron had been an AFT member in the Mt. Diablo Unified School District for many years. He said to Smith, who had gone to her first California Federation of Teachers convention the year before and was very impressed, "I've never been a member of CTA, and I don't see any reason to start now."

Proposition 13 had just passed; a new school was being opened, and there was little money. Perhaps by way of compensation, the motto of the high school was "Now's Your Chance", and the principal let it be known to the young, energetic newly-hired staff that this was their opportunity to do what they had always wanted to do in teaching.

Smith, Agron and a number of like-minded teachers discovered that one thing they wanted to do was form an AFT local. But before they put together what was to become the NMCFT, the CTA finally — after three years — came up with a contract. It was not acceptable, containing not even a hint of a grievance procedure. A "Defeat the Contract" movement was spearheaded by the proto-AFT, which created the "Concerned Teachers of North Monterey County" and issued a stream of flyers. Joined by disgruntled teachers within the CTA, the group defeated the contract in April of 1979 by a margin of 116-73, and began looking toward forming a union.

In September of 1979 a group of teachers led by Agron, Smith and Mike Powlen decided to decertify the CTA. Then event followed upon event with lightning rapidity. By October the union teachers had been issued an AFT charter, with the signatures of twenty two teachers on it; they had circulated election authorization cards to the faculty; and gained the necessary number of signatures to hold an election. The first election was held in December, and the results of the ballot were inconclusive; no one had a plurality. The vote was AFT-108, CTA- 107, no rep-4. The AFT utilized home visits, which had mixed results: some teachers thought it was an invasion of their privacy, while others felt grateful and astonished that anybody cared enough about organizing teachers to come to their home and talk with them.

During the run-off campaign the AFT proposed that the two organizations join in a united group. The CTA refused. During the election the CTA demanded that teachers who were department heads be declared ineligible to vote (several AFT leaders just happened to be department heads). Although PERB ultimately ruled in favor of the AFT, they were not allowed to vote during the election. The fledgling AFT local lost the runoff in January.

The Local stayed alive for the next few years under the presidency of Stephanie Smith through its publications and social events. The publications group was made up of Neil Agron, Julie High, Gena Kurzfeld and Kimberly Patterson. They published Boarderlines (which reported on School Board meetings, and provided teachers with information they received from no one else) and *Thistle*, the monthly newsletter.

By 1981 membership had doubled, and Bob Coble began teaching in the district. He had been a member of the AFT in Guam, where he had been vice-president and editor of a 2,400-member local, and had weathered a 58-day strike.

*Signing protocols for "Win-Win" from left, Marilyn and Dr. Irving Goldabar, School Board Pres. Jennie Verardo, Bob Coble, District Secretary Sheila Welch*

In 1982 the CTA invited Bob to join its bargaining team in a unity move; but he was soon "dis-invited" by the state CTA, which demanded that he join CTA first. This infuriated many teachers and helped lead to the local Association's downfall.

In 1983 the NMCFT gathered signatures from two-thirds of the teachers

for another election. At the Executive Committee meeting everyone felt pretty good, even getting past the sudden realization that "If we win, we'll have to do all the work!" Julie Minard, CFT staff representative, provided logistical leadership during the campaign, and the nearby Salinas Valley Federation of Teachers lent their office. The unions of the Monterey Bay Council of CFT locals and AFL-CIO also gave support. In May 1983, with Coble as President, the North Monterey County Federation of Teachers became the bargaining agent with 70% of the vote. Following the election president former Stephanie Smith left teaching to work in the Literacy Project.

The Executive Committee had been right: that's when the work began. After the election the AFT bargaining team negotiated into the following spring. The personnel director had earlier boasted that he'd never reached agreement with the CTA, and the superintendent was also hostile to teachers organizing. Within a year that superintendent was gone, the board and union were working reasonably well together, and the old personnel director became superintendent. Finally, in May, union members Coble, Kurzfeld, Barbara Rosenthal, Jeanne Dick, and Roberto Lovato, with Minard's assistance, finished hammering out a three-year contract, and it was ratified. The teachers received a back pay lump sum of 6% for the first year, 8.8% for the second, and the third year 7% (after mediation and fact-finding).

The contract also achieved an increase in the list of things that could be subject to binding arbitration, reduced class size, and created a better leave policy.

In 1985, the high school newpaper advisor George Wright wrote an editorial critical of the back-to-school night in the school paper. This occurred during the third year of his probation. He was suddenly given a series of extra observations and negative evaluations, clearly related to the criticism in the paper. The union called on its lawyer, Jan King, who came and defended him. The teacher kept his job.

The following year Coble, Agron, Kurzfeld, Rosenthal, Dick, Lovato and Harold Whitfill negotiated the second union contract, this time a two-year agreement. Another first for the teachers of the district: NMCFT negotiators got the district to agree to pay part of teachers' dependent cost for health coverage. They also brought two thirds of the contract under binding arbitration.

*"Win-win" negotiations team - from left, Tom Forgette, Frank Robinson, Kim Ward, Bob Coble, Jane Rosa, Ken Jordan, Harold Whitfill, Marianne Strader*

Stepping into uncharted waters, the union became involved in board elections in 1987 and 1988. AFT member Tom Forgette ran the campaign of John McKie against three incumbents in the 1987 election. McKie's main purpose in running was to improve relations between the district, the board and the union. With the assistance of AFT members Forgette, Sherry Fukuhara, Coble and Agron (among others), who distributed buttons and bumper stickers in all the schools, he got the most votes of any candidate. But McKie, who worked for the federal government, received a job transfer in 1988. So the AFT looked for a good replacement. Forgette managed the campaign of Jim González, whose children attended school in the district, against anti-teacher candidates, including the former trustee who'd been defeated the previous year. The union helped overcome racial divisions in the electorate for the victory, providing campaign workers, gaining the endorsement of the Monterey County AFL-CIO Labor Council's COPE and putting out numerous COPE newsletters.

The North Monterey County Federation of Teachers is proud to have been the first AFT local in California to participate in the "Win-Win" negotiations of Dr. Irving Goldaber for their third contract. The school board sat down as equals with teachers, and even board members whom the union had opposed felt the experience had improved communications and their relationship with teachers. Representatives of Local 4008 have been invited to speak with many other CFT and CTA locals about "Win-Win" negotiations procedures. The negotiations team of Coble, Whitfill, Frank Robinson, Jane Rosa, Marianne Strader, Tom Forgette, Kim Ward, and Ken Jordan negotiated an agreement for the district to pay complete health coverage for one dependent, raise salaries, require service fees for non-members, and provide prep periods for the new "middle schools" staffs.

(Neil Agron, Bob Coble, Stephanie Smith, contributors)



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# San Diego Adult Educators

## AFT Local 4289 Chartered 1982

San Diego Adult Educators has been the only organization representing the Continuing Education faculty of the San Diego Community College District. Originally we were an independent organization affiliated with the California Council for Adult Education (C.C.A.E.) and the Southern Section component of C.C.A.E., C.C.A.E.-S.S. Our name in the early sixties was the 'San Diego Post-secondary Teachers' Association'. It was changed in the mid-sixties to the 'Council for Adult Education'. The change to 'San Diego Adult Educators' became effective in 1971.

At that time the Community College District was still a part of the San Diego Unified School District. In 1973, by voter mandate, the Community Colleges and Continuing Education became a separate district with its own Board of Trustees and delineation of function agreements.

During that time, many of our members demonstrated strong leadership throughout the state and nation. Berneice Crust, Judson Bradshaw, Alice Leicht, Clarence Cruz, and Shirle Nester were presidents of the C.C.A.E.-S.S. Many others not mentioned held officer positions.

We struggled through "meet and confer" until that glorious day—Collective Bargaining became law. We were feverishly wooed by CTA and CFT. We never had any doubt, and when it came time to decide—CFT won hands down. We had been steadfast members of AFT-CFT with our affiliation since 1976. Our name did not change; we just added AFT. Initially we came in under AFT Local 1931's charter, but on October 1, 1982, we were granted our own charter and became Local 4289.

During our beginning phase, it took 18 months to achieve our first contract with Patricia Ricard, president, and Shirle Nester, negotiations chair. We had a lot to learn, and with the help of AFT staff representatives Rudy Kne, Jim Robinson, and Vinnie Russell, we designed an excellent contract.

Rene Haase followed Pat as president with Catherine Stoll and Joan Severson, the next elected presidents. Joan was the recipient of the CFT Women in Education Award in 1983. John Sullivan became the first two-year president and served until 1984, when Virginia Kellner, who received a San Diego County CFT Award for outstanding service to her local in 1987, became our leader. She started out as a site rep; became an officer, corresponding secretary, membership chair, and served on the negotiating team.

Shirle Nester is the first recycled president, having served once before in 1974-75 when SDAE was an independent. In June 1986 she was once again elected president and continues to serve in that position. She is also chair of the task force to recommend trailer legislation to AB 1725 for the CFT Community College Council. She was recognized by the CCAE as a Master Teacher and received an Outstanding Teacher Award from that state organization.

SDAE/AFT initiated several innovations, one of which gives the Continuing Education faculty some career ladder opportunities and adjunct faculty some security. Professor positions were negotiated in 1982, and 23 instructors were promoted. Fixed-term assignments were also implemented at that time, and some hourly instructors were awarded these fixed-term assignments.

SDAE/AFT took on one of the most difficult cases regarding lay-off of tenured faculty—more properly called The Foundation Suit. In March 1983, seven language instructors were terminated—teachers of French, Spanish, and German. SDAE/AFT filed a suit. The San Diego Community College District had ceased offering these classes but did offer them through the San Diego Community College Foundation.

All language classes in the fall of 1983 were discontinued and transferred under the Foundation. Our suit addressed the issue that these classes indeed were still being offered. That suit is still pending—and now has gone to the Appeals Court. The seven teachers affected have experienced great stress. It is hoped that by late 1989, six years later, a "win" decision will be handed down. This could become a landmark decision for terminated teachers. John Sullivan, President of SDAE at that time, and Raul Martinez, Grievance Officer, led the way.

The 1987-1989 negotiations showed an 18 percent salary increase over two and a half years. The successful bargaining was accomplished by the expert negotiations team comprised of Raul Martinez; Gary Gleckman, benefits chair; Judy Quinton, adjunct representative; Shera Heitmann, counselor representative; Jim Park, member at large; and Shirle Nester, with CFT representative Clarence Boukas at the helm.

Some members of SDAE never quit working for the Union. Even after retirement, Lydia Stewart kept the books for three years after she retired, and Leona Plummer has kept the Shoptalk newsletter professional in appearance and style with her expertise with the computer. Leona retired two years ago. What would we do without those dedicated teachers? *Shoptalk* has been recognized with Honorable Mentions and third place, 1989, Union Teacher Press Awards. Leona's layout and President Nester's monthly messages were both third-place winners.

In 1989 the union established a memorial scholarship fund in the name of the late Virginia Kellner, who passed away in November 1988, to go to an ESL student each year, to continue his/her education. Its contributors were fellow teachers, SDAE, CFT, friends, and administrators. The first scholarship was awarded June 1989. SDAE also gives ten $50 scholarships to help Continuing Education students. Teachers recommend names to the union, and a union committee selects the winners.

Today SDAE/AFT represents some 1100 adjunct faculty and 110 contract faculty. Our goal, as always, is more contract faculty. The heart of SDAE is our adjunct faculty; we will always represent them and our contract teachers. As always, the most important thing to us in Continuing Education is our student—the future of America.

(Shirle Nester, contributor)

# Academic Professionals of California

## AFT Local 4373
## Chartered 1985

The United Professors of California (UPC) was founded in the 1960s as the result of a statewide merger of AFT state university locals and chapters of the Association of California State College Professors. Nineteen independent locals were established around the state under the umbrellas of UPC. UPC included an academic support unit, which later became Academic Professionals of California, APC, AFT Local 4373.

The academic support unit was created in the early 60s. The university had begun at that time to downgrade the status of academic employees, and attempted to do away with their tenure and promotional rights. The unit as it was constructed was quite a polyglot affair, with administrative employees who teach as part of their load, academic support personnel, student services professionals, extended education specialists, and others: a total of forty classifications in the unit. (In fact, former president of APC Ernie Scosseria has characterized the unit as "an alphabet soup unit", and its history as "a history of inititals.") Practically everyone has at least a B.A., and most positions require advanced degrees.

By 1981 UPC had several thousand members. The role of the academic support employees in the union had grown considerably. That year, Carol Wallish became the Secretary of UPC, the first academic support employee to hold a statewide office in the union. In 1982 the collective bargaining election was held for the statewide faculty and academic support units. The UPC faculty lost by 39 votes out of 13,000 cast statewide; the "unit 4" election was won by the AFT academic support group by a comfortable margin. The leadership of what was soon to become APC immediately began meeting to put together our first contract proposal. Negotiations began in early 1983, with Ricardo Torres, Carlos Skeete, Nancy Jorgenson, Steve Koletty, Nancy Slaven, Mary Valentine and Stew Long representing the academic professionals at the table. AFT national staff member Kaye Faulkner provided assistance. Negotiations ended with a 9% raise, which the union considered only to be "catch-up" money for ground lost since the 60s.

CSU wanted to create a subclass within the unit called "non-academic employees". This group would have had virtually no rights except for time and a half for overtime. The union succeeded in keeping this take-back out of the contract, getting them classified as "administrative employees". Another important element of the first contract, initially resisted by CSU, was a grievance procedure with binding arbitration. Dental care became part of the benefits package for the first time. Before the next round of negotiations, vision care was added as well. Academic employees were more or less pleased by the first contract. Administrative employees were less happy with one portion of it, since the university refused to negotiate a reform of reclassification procedures.

In the first union elections held after collective bargaining, Ricardo Torres was elected President; Ernie Scosseria Northern VP; Mary Valentine Southern VP; Nancy Jorgensen, Secretary, and Steven Koletty Treasurer.

The two year contract provided for reopeners in off-years on six articles including salary and benefits. CSU had proposed a new classification system affecting two thirds of the unit, which the union challenged. PERB ruled that classification was not within the scope of collective bargaining, and CSU met with us but refused to allow input into the process. They said all they would do is bargain the "impact" of the classification on probation, salary and benefits. Relations between the union and administration during these negotiations were so acrimonious that since that time CSU has discussed re-classification systems before implementing them.

In 1985 Academic Professionals of California, AFT Local 4373 officially came into being as a statewide local with nineteen autonomous chapters, one per campus. Governance was established as a division of powers between the APC Council, with each chapter sending one elected representative, and an Executive Board with eight officers. Later the second slate of officers was elected. These were Ernie Scosseria, President; Tony Garduque, Vice-president for Communications; Susan Stephens, Secretary; Nolan Shaffer, Treasurer; Ray DeLeon, Vice President for Membership; and Wiggsy Sivertsen, Vice President for Legislative Action.

There was a lot of money on the table in that same year when the contract came up for renegotiation. The CSU put forward a proposal for a new classification series that would have benefitted some of the unit at the expense of others, creating a serious political problem for the bargaining team of APC, which consisted of Torres and Kollety again, along with Ernie Scosseria, Ray DeLeon, Carlotta Calmese, and Carol Göerke.

Approximately 40% of the unit supported the agreement; roughly the same amount did not, and the rest were not affected. Meanwhile the debates and intense discussion within the union held up an 11% raise, which had already been agreed upon; 60% of the members were not happy about that. The APC bargaining team tried hard to work out the best agreement to protect as many members of the unit as possible. Eventually the new classification was implemented. As a consolation to the section of the unit that felt unhappy about the result, the union did gain two

days vacation per month; the right to peer review; and a professional development program for those members without doctorates, so that employees in the lower reclasses gained the possibility to move up.

Nearly forty grievances were filed by the union on behalf of members, directly due to the new reclassification system. The union also gained the right for those members not directly affected by the reclass to ask for a review to be placed into the student services or professional series. At Sacramento State, three employees asked for a reclassification, and despite the contract language, management refused. When the employees tried to appeal to a peer review, they were refused the right to do that. The union took their case to arbitration and won.

The 1987 contract gains featured an innovative and progressive funeral leave clause for non-married significant others/domestic partners. Led by the team of Scosseria, Torres, Gale Pemberton, Beverly Staples, Bill Huling, and Tony Garduque, wage gains were 4% for the first year and 6% for the second. Other improvements included improved career advancement and professional development programs, greater protection against layoffs, dependent health coverage, and deferred taxes paid for childcare expenses. Clarence Boukas, CFT field representative, helped the negotiations team. From 1985-87 Mary Valentine worked as a fulltime staff person for APC, coordinating membership drives, publications and legal concerns. Her salary was paid by the national office of the AFT.

In 1988 CSU unions buried the hatchet of past enmities and founded the CSU Labor Council. All six unions, including APC, came together initially to put an end to increases of parking fees for employees, and began joint work on a project at the center of power for the CSU administration: budget reform. The budget of the CSU has been called a "black hole" by the APC leadership, and that characterization aptly describes the current accountability system for spending. Also on the agenda for the Labor Council is on-campus childcare and building an alliance with student government to create a broad-based united front to present to the CSU Trustees. The Council, it is hoped, will create clout through solidarity unavailable to any of the individual unions by themselves.

The CSU decided in 1988 not to pay anyone merit pay increases. Mass demonstrations were called by the campus Labor Councils. At one campus, where traditionally there has been an "ice cream day" each year where the Chancellor provides ice cream free to all employees, he was greeted with the chant "Let it Melt, Let it Melt!" At another, the President of Hayward State refused to answer a question by current APC President Gale Pemberton at a beginning-of-school, campus-wide meeting, whereupon she led a walkout of over 100 staff.

While the Labor Council augurs well for all the employees of the CSU, APC has created its own share of victories. One outstanding recent example, in 1989, occurred at Cal Poly Pomona, when the union won a grievance that had gone to arbitration, with full back pay for the affected employee.

In Spring of 1989, a new slate of officers was elected. These were: Gale Pemberton, President; Patrick O'Reilly, First Vice-President; Wiggsy Sivertsen, Vice-President for Legislative Action; Rosie Woods, Treasurer; Susan Stephens, Secretary; Joseph Scheitzach, Vice-President for Membership; Lance Hauer, Vice-President for Communications; and Janice Moore, Vice-President, Collective Bargaining.

Much of the history of APC, as should be evident by now, has been involved in trying to develop unity among the many employee groups within the unit. Solidarity is essential for the successful defense of employee rights and for contractual gains. APC looks forward to continuing to develop that solidarity for its own members and together with the other CSU unions for all university employees.

(Ernie Scosseria, contributor)

***At one campus, where traditionally there has been an "ice cream day" each year where the Chancellor provides ice cream free to all employees, he was greeted with the chant "Let it Melt, Let it Melt!"***

# San Francisco Ballet School Federation of Teachers

## AFT Local 4481 Chartered 1986

The San Francisco Ballet School Federation of Teachers was born out of the all-too-familiar need to find support during a period of intense turmoil in our workplace. From 1984 through 1986 the San Francisco Ballet Association was going through a change in direction and management, and there were many signs that the change was reaching deep into our division, the School. One woman came in to pick up her paycheck to find she'd been fired. A couple of formerly full-time teachers were dropped to part-time without explanation. And the firing of the School's Director, splashed across the local newspapers, was close to scandalous.

We began with a gathering late in the evening, after our last classes, to air and share our concerns. Because artists, especially dancers, are notoriously naive about business matters, we invited spouses with both business and legal expertise, and the consensus was plain: go union. It seemed only logical; in our business the performers are union (AGMA), the stagehands (IATSE) and the musicians are union (AFM). Why not the teachers?

*Russell Hill photo*

Following our official chartering, we elected a teacher with 28 years at the San Francisco Ballet as President, Marlene Fitzpatrick Swendsen. Charter members included Henry Berg, Leslie Crockett, Christine Bering, Lynda Meyer, Susan Sotirkos, Zola Dishong, Mary Wood, and Anatole Vilzak. One of our most enthusiastic supporters was Mr. Vilzak, a living link with the Imperial Russian Ballet of our heritage, who at age 90 still taught 2-4 classes a week.

The two months between that first meeting and the representation election on November 14, 1986 were spent in countless late-night meetings, confrontations with management, soul-searching and yes, some defections from our cause. But on November 14 we prevailed, and then began the arduous task of creating a contract from scratch.

At that time we had only memos of agreement which the company manager had written without our input. There was no set procedure for grievances and no job security clause. Sabbatical leave hadn't even been imagined. When we began comparing our individual agreements, we learned that there was no uniformity as to who was covered by health insurance; widely varying weeks of paid vacation; different rates of pay for teachers of equal category; and different percentage increases on yearly wages.

*AFT Local 4481 Executive Council: Mary Wood, Vice President; Susan Sotirkos, President; Lynda Meyer, Secretary; Leslie Crockett, Treasurer, 1988 (Tom Martin photo)*

The feeling among the teachers was that all should have the security of knowing that they were working from the same set of rules. Our moment of triumph came when the management lawyer indicated it was about time someone tidied up this situation!

Since the contract, grievance procedures and salary schedules have been established, and the ballet association has hired a professional personnel manager to keep accurate records and compile a history of past practices.

For the first time, the teachers in the school had a definition of work load, class size, an equitable pay scale with a 4% raise built in for the life of the three-year contract, vacations, and guidelines for the yearly evaluations.

The thirty page contract details such things as the professional responsibilities of the teachers, benefits, including maternity leaves, personal leaves and, for the first time, the right to ask for a sabbatical leave. While the granting of sabbaticals is left to the discretion of the employer, the very fact that teachers could now ask for a sabbatical leave to pursue a plan of study, dance or travel was a major step forward.

In the two years since its ratification there have been several occasions when we were grateful for the protection of our contract and the backing of the AFT.

(Mary Wood, contributor)

# University Council/AFT

**Established 1971**

The history of the University Council/American Federation of Teachers can be traced back 25 years when the first AFT local was established at the University of California. The Berkeley Faculty Union (Local 1474) was chartered in 1963, and branching from it, the University Federation of Librarians (Local 1795), was established in 1967. Other campuses formed locals during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The University Council/AFT was formally organized on June 19, 1971, when seven AFT locals at the University of California voted to establish themselves as a council. At a meeting held in Los Angeles, representatives decided to withdraw from the United Professors of California and to form their own organization in order to more effectively organize at the University of California.

*Berkeley English Language Program negotiating team, 1979, seated from left: Haydee Wirth, Margaret Newman, Metis Shekaloff, standing: Geoffrey Reinhard, Alice Gosak, Jacqueline Hoeppner, Bonnie Burns, Arthur Carson, Doris Spafford, Ellen Rosenfield, Ruth Finnerty. (Richard Bermack photo)*

In August of the year, an eighth local representing Berkeley librarians Berkeley voted to affiliate, and was soon joined by a ninth which had been started on the Irvine campus.

The first chair of the University Council-AFT was Paul Goodman, a History professor from the Davis campus. Patricia St. Lawrence, a Genetics professor at Berkeley, was the Northern Vice President, and Jack Blackburn, of the Labor Center at Los Angeles, was chosen as Southern Vice President. Shortly after the Council was formed Sam Bottone was hired as Executive Secretary.

Early issues the UniversityCouncil/AFT took up included problems associated with the failure of many Assistant Professors to be granted tenure, and with salaries which lagged behind those at comparable universities across the country. Librarians were concerned with sexually discriminatory salaries, a nationwide phenomenon in which workers in female-dominated occupations were paid lower salaries than workers having similar educational requirements and responsibilities in male-dominated occupations.

During the Spring of 1972, the Council was presented with one of its most serious crises: the building trades unions at the Berkeley and San Francisco campuses voted to go on strike against the University. The Berkeley/San Francisco librarians local honored the strike and placed demands of its own on the table. The ten-week walkout was the longest public employee strike in California at the time, and at its conclusion, the University administration provided a small raise to begin correcting librarian pay inequities.

In 1973 Assemblyman John Miller (D-Berkeley) introduced on the Council's behalf a pay inequity bill for librarians. It had the strong support from the CFT and its Legislative Advocate, Mary Bergan, the California Labor Federation, and from the California Library Association. The bill provided $340,000 for 1974/1975 to adjust librarians salaries upward to make them comparable to those of similar male-typed occupations.

The Council was successful in introducing and having signed into law an Open Files bill in 1978. The bill, by

State Senator David Roberti (D-Los Angeles), provided employees access to their personnel files, with only the names and other identification removed from confidential materials. The CFT and California Labor Federation (and an 11th hour call from its Executive Secretary-Treasurer, John F. Henning, urging Governor Jerry Brown to sign) were key to getting the bill into law. The University administration promptly refused to comply with the law, and the State of California and the UC/AFT took legal action to enforce compliance; the issue is still being litigated.

*University Council/AFT president Spencer Olin, Professor of History at UC Irvine, with CFT President Raoul Teilhet, c 1974*

Beginning in 1973, the Council made major efforts to secure collective bargaining legislation for academic employees at the University. The University Council/AFT argued for the inclusion of UC academic employees in several bills which were introduced in the Legislature. It was not until 1978, however, that a bill carried by Assemblyman Howard Berman (D-Los Angeles) — the Higher Education Employer-Employee Relations Act (HEERA) — was signed into law. This act provided bargaining rights for both UC and State University and Colleges employees. The University Council/AFT sought, unsuccessfully, to have the bill amended so as to provide UC Academic Senate members the same bargaining rights as other groups included within the bill — UC Senate units are spelled out in the law and their scope of bargaining is limited.

HEERA became effective July 1, 1979. The University administration was able to delay elections through extensive PERB unit determination hearings for four years. An election for librarians was held and in June, 1983, PERB certified the AFT as the bargaining agent. Bargaining began in December 1983, and a first contract was ratified by unit members in August 1984. Among the major gains: salaries would be increased at the same percentage as other academic employees, research funds were defined and specific amounts allocated by campus, a nine-month year option was established, peer review was protected, binding arbitration was provided as the last step of the grievance procedure, sick leave was broadened to include illness of family members, and the dual track for librarian promotion (administrative or specialist) was preserved.

In an election held in January 1984, some 2,000 Non-Senate Faculty chose the University Council/AFT as their exclusive representative. Bargaining began in May 1984, and continued for two years, concluding in a first contract in May 1986. Major improvements in working conditions included: the first systemwide guidelines for regularizing retention and merit increase reviews; preserving the traditional right of the Academic Senates to set courseloads and determine curricular needs; setting maximum course loads; establishing the right of unit members to use departmental equipment, support services, and travel and development funds; and most importantly, making clear that there was no limit on the length of time a unit member could be employed at the University — previously there had been three to eight year limits imposed by various departments on various campuses.

The Council's work is not complete; we want to see present contracts strengthened, to bring bargaining rights to professors and researchers, to improve teaching and research, and generally to make the University of California a more open and democratic institution in which students are better served and faculty and staff work in a more productive and collegial way.

(Philip Hoehn, contributor)



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# CFT Field Representatives Union

## Established 1972

**In Memory of Sam Bishop:**
**A Short History of the**
**CFT/Field Representatives Union**

For those who've been around the CFT longer than most of us, these names may seem familiar: Hank Clarke, Don Henry, Hugh MacColl, Ralph Schloming and Bill Plosser. They were CFT staff representatives during the 50s and 60s. They had no union of their own, for if they did, most would have been the one and only member. In the late 60's, greatly due to the relentless efforts of Raoul Teilhet and his faithful sidekick Marie Whipp, the CFT began to grow. The times were right. Teachers were as frustrated with their lot as they were with the CTA (which got them there in the first place). Teilhet had the right message and a method of delivery without peer. As the CFT grew, so did its staff.

*From left top: Tom Martin, Marian Hull, Mary Valentine, Larry Bordan, bottom, Bill Callahan, Chuck Caniff, Clarence Boukas (Julie Minard not shown)*

In 1972, at the first real training workshop for CFT staff, held at UC Santa Barbara, the California Federation of Teachers Field Representatives Union was formed. What else would one expect of a group of union activists brought together with a common employer? There were rights to be protected, salaries to be bargained, a contract to be negotiated, and a general all for one and one for all attitude prevailed. Besides, it was fun: a union of unionists so to speak.

Since 1972, many members of CFT/FRU have joined and moved on. Dick Arnold, Leona Sibelman, Mike Nye, Harriet Levy, Elsbeth Marshall, Rose Ungar, Ralph Lloyd and Sheryl Pettitt form this set of alumni. Rudy Kne, now an AFT national representative, is the only person to have served as a member of pre- and post-CFT/FRU who is not currently on the CFT staff. Probably the most notable of all however, a guru to many of us, was the soft-spoken, Mississippi-accented Sam Bishop. Sam was a charter member of CFT/FRU. Some eight years later he joined the staff of AFT. During his time on the CFT staff, Sam taught us much. Some of us worked our first strike under Sam's direction (Pajaro). He was the kind of person whom everyone liked as well as respected. Sam died of leukemia in 1979, a great and untimely loss to all of us. It is in Sam's honor that the current CFT/FRU members dedicate this page.

As for today's current roster of CFT/FRU — here we are, and whence we came, including the date we joined the CFT staff and CFT/FRU too! (You see we have a union shop.)

Mary Bergan — August 1972, Past President, Pittsburg Federation of Teachers

Larry Bordan — August 1972, Past President, Culver City Federation of Teachers, Past Vice President, CFT

Clarence Boukas — August 1971, Staff of the Los Angeles Teachers Union, Staff of the Hawaii Federation of Teachers

Bill Callahan — January 1986, Past President of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 101, State Council, AFSCME Local 57, AFT Director for the California Health Care Organizing Project

Chuck Canniff — September 1972, Past President, Newport-Mesa Federation of Teachers, past president Orange County Council of AFT Locals

Marian Hull — October 1978, Past President and Chief of Crusades, United Catholic Secondary Teachers Association (Los Angeles Archdiocese)

Tom Martin — January 1978, Past President, Santa Barbara Federation of Teachers, Past Vice President of CFT

Mary Valentine — August 1988, Past Vice President of United Professors of California, Project Representative for AFT Higher Education, Executive Director of the Oregon Community College Council

Julie Minard — January 1978, Past President, ABC Federation of Teachers Past Vice President of CFT (presently on leave)

(Chuck Caniff, contributor)

*Sam Bishop*



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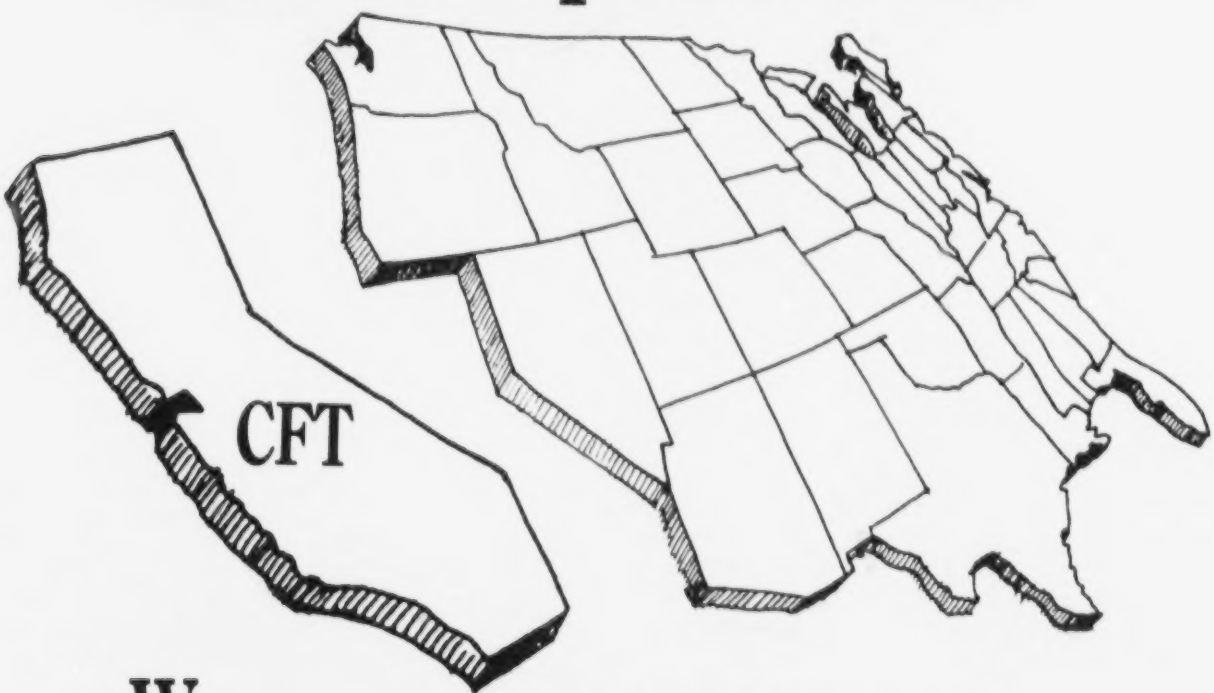
# Today, as in the beginning, AFT means professionals setting the standard for their own profession.




We congratulate the California Federation of Teachers for seventy years of improving the lives and working conditions of those who work in California public schools.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS AFL CIO

# ILLINOIS FEDERATION OF TEACHERS AFT–AFL-CIO

The Illinois Federation of Teachers, AFT, AFL-CIO, extends congratulations to the California Federation of Teachers in commemoration of its seventy years of service.

This historical milestone marks nearly three-quarters of a century that the California Federation of Teachers has stood united to provide continuous support to public education workers and to strive for the quality education that America's children deserve.

We, too, are proud to be a part of the American Federation of Teachers. Our belief in "Education for Democracy and Democracy in Education" has been the inspiration behind all of our goals and accomplishments.

We also take pride in our affiliation with the AFL-CIO, and our contributions to the labor movement. We are firmly dedicated to the ideals of organized labor, and will continue to strive for fair wages and good working conditions for public education workers.

Again, we commend you on your years of service and wish you many more years of accomplishments.

Jacqueline B. Vaughn, President
Kenneth J. Drum, Secretary-Treasurer
Illinois Federation of Teacher

# INTERNATIONAL UNION UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA UAW REGION 6

**Congratulations to California Federation of Teachers on their 70th year of service to education and the community.**

A Message From The U.A.W.

**BRUCE LEE**
*Director*

The education of our children is a vital part of our nations ability to maintain this great republic. The California Federation of Teachers can be proud of their role of providing collective bargaining representation and leadership in the never ending fight for quality public education for all. We in the U.A.W. salute you for your seventy years of dedicated and principled leadership. The labor movement is indeed fortunate to have such an outstanding organization as The California Federation of Teachers.

Best wishes
Fraternally.

Bruce Lee

**BRUCE LEE**
*Director UAW Region Six*

# The Workers of Tomorrow's WORLD are Counting on Us... TODAY.

It is education or stagnation. We join with the California Federation of Teachers in dedicating the next seventy years to even greater enlightenment...in both the classroom and the workplace.

# Western Territory

**International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **District 94**<br>**Los Angeles** | **District 190**<br>**Oakland** | **District 777**<br>**Long Beach** | **District 120**<br>**Ontario** |
| **District 93**<br>**San Jose** | **District 727**<br>**Burbank** | **District 115**<br>**Oakland** | **District 50**<br>**San Diego** |

George Kourpias
International President

Tom Ducy
General Secretary-Treasurer

Justin Ostro
General Vice-President

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**The California Federation of Teachers has consistently shown courage, imagination and resolve on behalf of the profession and the persons which it serves, students. We are proud to have assisted the California Federation of Teachers and its affiliates since 1964.**

**Van Bourg, Weinberg, Roger & Rosenfeld**

# *Congratulations*

**From The Minnesota Federation of Teachers**

**We're Meeting the Challenge of Change**

THE
BEST
UNION FOR
TEACHERS,
STATE EMPLOYEES,
HEALTH CARE
WORKERS,
EDUCATIONAL
PERSONNEL
and
COLLEGE FACULTY

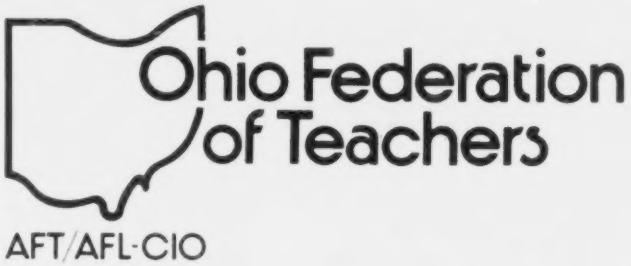
**CSFT** AFT/AFL-CIO

Connecticut State Federation of Teachers

since 1947

Congratulations to the California Federation of Teachers
on Your 70th Anniversary!

From Your Brothers and Sisters of the




Ronald E. Marec, President

***Congratulations on seventy years of service to California***

**From your colleagues in New York State.**

The people nysut
who help New York to learn.
Affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO

NEW YORK STATE UNITED TEACHERS. The people who work in New York's public schools, colleges, universities and healthcare facilities.

## CONGRATULATIONS

TO THE

## CALIFORNIA FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
## AFT/AFL-CIO

ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR

## SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY

BAKERY UNION MADE BCT CONFECTIONERY AND TOBACCO AFL-CIO CLC

JOHN DECONCINI
INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT

RENE RONDOU
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

GRAYDON E. TETRICK
INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

AND THE

MEMBERSHIP AND FAMILIES OF THE BAKERY, CONFECTIONERY AND TOBACCO WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION, AFL-CIO/CLC

UNITED TEACHERS of DADE
UTD
FEA/UNITED, AFT
LOCAL 1974, AFL-CIO
MIAMI, FLORIDA

The United Teachers of Dade salutes the
California Federation of Teachers
on your 70th Anniversary.

As a sister local in the American Federation of Teachers,
we applaud your accomplishments.
All of us in the AFT are joined by a proud history.
We look towards the future with optimism and continued progress.

Pat Tornillo
UTD Executive Vice President

Murray Sisselman
UTD President

## DISTRICT COUNCIL OF IRON WORKERS
## of
## THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA AND VICINITY
## Extends
## SINCERE BEST WISHES
## On This
## MEMORABLE OCCASION

**C.W. Lansford**
President
**Richard Zampa**
First Vice President
**Darrel E. Shelton**
Second Vice President
**Joe Roth**
Financial Secretary-Treasurer

**Affiliated Local Unions**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 75 | Phoenix, Arizona | 509 | Los Angeles, California |
| 118 | Sacramento, California | 624 | Fresno, California |
| 155 | Fresno, California | 625 | Honolulu, Hawaii |
| 229 | San Diego, California | 627 | San Diego, California |
| 377 | San Francisco, California | 740 | Phoenix, Arizona |
| 378 | Oakland, California | 790 | Oakland, California |
| 416 | Los Angeles, California | 801 | Reno, Nevada |
| 433 | Los Angeles, California | 803 | Honolulu, Hawaii |

## District No. 1 — MEBA/NMU
## (AFL-CIO)

C.E. DeFries, President

Shannon J. Wall, Executive Vice President

C.E. Dodson, Treasurer

Louis Parise, Secretary

R.F. Schamann, Vice President, Licensed Division

Rene Lioeanjie, Vice President, Unlicensed Division

**444 North Capitol Street**
**Suite 800**
**Washington, D.C. 20001**

Marine Engineers Beneficial Association/National Maritime Union

FRATERNAL GREETINGS

FROM

THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF PAINTERS AND ALLIED TRADES

William A. Duval
General President

A. L. Monroe
General Secretary-Treasurer

Fred C. Hagen
General Vice President

Michael E. Monroe
General Vice President

James H. Wolford
General Vice President

Patrick L. Lane
General Vice President

Guy W. Leber
General Vice President

Walter G. Raftery
General Vice President

Richard J. Zack
General Vice President

Armando Colafranceschi
General Vice President

# Congratulations on Seventy Years of Achievement

The 1.3 million member United Food and Commercial Workers International Union congratulates the California Federation of Teachers on its seventieth birthday.

We salute your past and present leaders and members who help pave the road to the future with a wealth of experience, wisdom, and history as guideposts.

William H. Wynn
International President

Jerry Menapace
International Secretary-Treasurer

United Food and Commercial Workers International Union
1775 K Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20006

**CFT Stands for Progressive and Agressive Unionism.**

**We Are Proud to Work with Your Union!**

**Greenstone, Holguin & Garfield**

**Ellen Greenstone • Steven Holguin • Beth Garfield**

***Those who can, teach.***
***Those who can't, become attorneys.***

***Congratulations to the CFT.***

---

Larry Rosenzweig
Law Offices

Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees
**Local 49**
in Sacramento

would like to express our

**SOLIDARITY**

with the
California Federation of Teachers
on your 70th Birthday

**70th Birthday Greetings**
**to the**
**California Federation of Teachers**

*from the*

**International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers**
**AFL-CIO & CLC**

Congratulations from
your brothers and sisters
in the

***United Farm Workers***

Boycott Non-union
Grapes

***In Solidarity***

International Longshoremen's
and
Warehousemen's Union

Jim Herman, President
Randy Vekich, Vice-President
Curt McClain, Secretary-Treasurer

The following unions & labor organizations

wish to express their unity of purpose and their pleasure

with the 70th anniversary of the California Federation of Teachers:

*From sea to shining sea,*

**The Massachusetts Federation of Teachers**

**AFT/AFL-CIO**

*sends greetings to*

**The California Federation of Teachers AFT/AFL-CIO**

*on its 70th anniversary*

AFL-CIO Laundry and Dry Cleaning International Union, Local 52

Marin County Central Labor Council

Michigan Federation of Teachers

Missouri Federation of Teachers

New Hampshire Federation of Teachers

Rhode Island Federation of Teachers

Brotherhood of Teamsters and Auto Truck Drivers, Local 70

Utah Teachers United

Local 1741, United Transportation Union, S.F. School Bus Drivers

Wisconsin Federation of Teachers

# 7 Decades of Teacher Unionism

Imagine, for example, that you were being fired because you were over 40 and a woman (Elizabeth Baldwin), or because you wore a beard (Paul Finot), or because you participated in a peaceful political demonstration as a student teacher (Richard Broadhead) or because you wrote a letter-to-the-editor criticizing the administration of the schools (Jack Owens). These events were not uncommon in pre-collective bargaining schools.

...In the history book that you hold in your hands, you will discover your roots as an educator and unionist in California.

*—from the Preface*

ISBN 0-9624601-0-9

Price: $12

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